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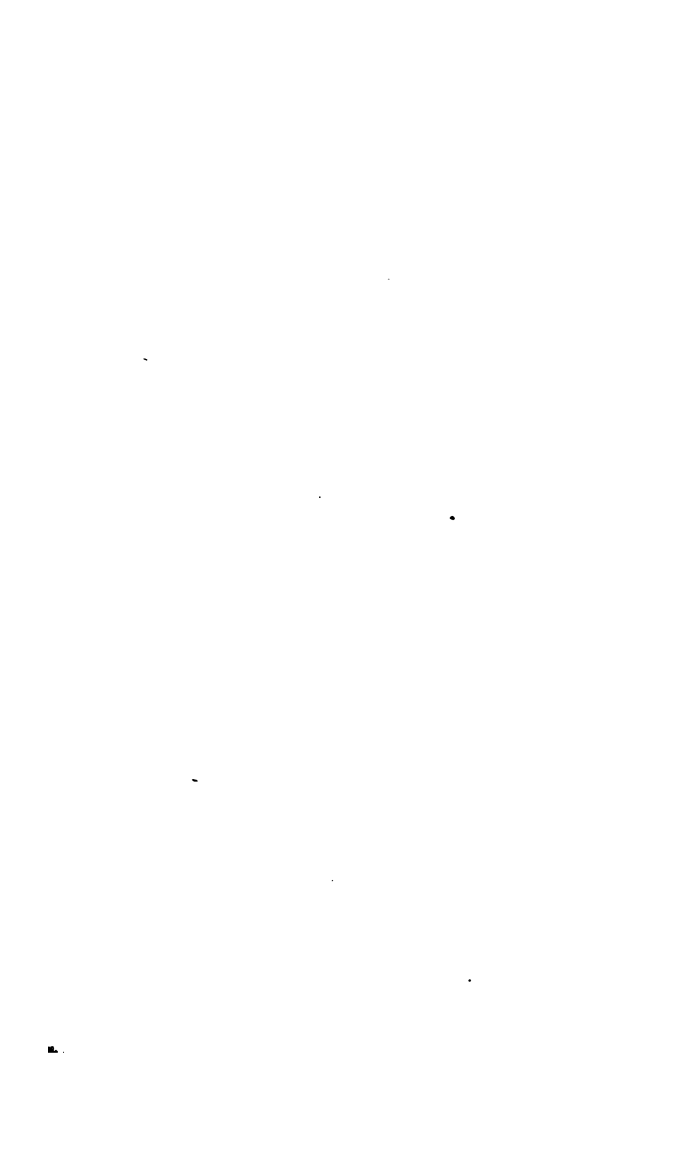
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THE
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
IN
GREECE.

EDINBURGH :
PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,
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A. Macfarlane
Perth 1844

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1830.



HISTORY
OF THE
WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
IN GREECE.

By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY, Esq.
AUTHOR OF "FAIRY MYTHOLOGY," "OUTLINES OF HISTORY," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE AND CO.
AND HURST, CHANCE, AND CO. LONDON.

1830.



PREFACE.

THE events which have, of late years, taken place in Greece, are so interesting in themselves, and so likely to be of considerable influence on the future history of the world, that the proprietors of **CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY** have deemed that they could not select a subject more likely to prove acceptable to the public, than the narrative of the War of Independence in Greece. They proposed the task of writing it to me; and after some hesitation, I agreed to undertake it.

I saw plainly the absurdity of attempting

to write the critical history of the Greek War, before a sufficient number of *Memoires pour servir* had appeared. At present, we have little more before us on the subject, than the journals and narratives of foreigners, who, either as travellers, or in the service of the Greek government, have passed some time in Greece—many of whom were full of prejudices, little versed in human nature, and ignorant of the language of the country. These materials certainly did not present a very promising appearance. Still, I thought, that without injury to any little reputation which my other writings might have acquired for me,* I might venture to give a popular synopsis of the mass of information on this subject which is actually in print, and before the eyes of the public. I laid it down as a rule,

* Though my "Outlines of History" did not appear till last August, it was written in 1828, and printed in 1829.

strictly to confine myself to such,—to act the part of a mere narrator ; and by constant reference to my authorities, free myself from responsibility for the accuracy of the details. It was, however, impossible for me to write, without occasionally pronouncing opinions ; and for such, as well as the exercise of judgment in the selection of my materials, I am justly to be held accountable.

As a popular history demands details in order to be interesting, I could not follow the safe and judicious plan of Col. Leake, in his excellent Sketch of the Greek Revolution. It had also appeared to me that a chief cause of the work of Capt. Blaquiere not having been so popular as might have been expected, lay in its comparative paucity of minute circumstances. I, therefore, have not hesitated to have frequent recourse to the pages of MM. de Pouqueville and Soutzo, though they are writers, of whose general accuracy *my opinion* is by no means

high. Though the former, however, may embellish, I do not believe that he often invents facts ; I have, therefore, thought I might follow him with safety in the history of Ali Pasha, with which he had such superior means of being acquainted ; and as to the early events of the Revolution, I had the choice of following him, or of giving hardly any details. As to M. Soutzo, he is one of the Fanariot Greeks, and pretends to superior sources of information : I have accordingly thought it right to take him as my guide in the account of the Hetairia, and of the affairs of the provinces beyond the Danube. The writer whom I regard as most trustworthy, and who has furnished some of the most interesting details in the present volumes, is Col. Maxime Raybaud, whose *Memoirs*, unfortunately, do not go beyond the second year of the war.

As the proper pronounciation of names *is a matter* of some consequence, and as

the Greek system of accentuation is almost as capricious as our own, I have taken care, in general, to mark the accent wherever I could ascertain it. I have also spelt the proper names according to English, and not, as is usually the case, French orthography, as being likely to be of more use to the mere English reader, who will probably find no difficulty in *Jower* and *Mi-
~~oulis~~*, though he might be perplexed with *Giaour* and *Miaoulis*. The final *s* not being sounded in Greek names, I have sometimes written, sometimes omitted it. Botzaris is pronounced Botzari; the same is the case with all the other names which will occur.

I doubt not, but those persons who have been in Greece will accuse me of having fallen into error on various occasions, and perhaps magnify trifles into affairs of great importance. I have, however, faithfully followed my authorities; and I feel confi-

dent that I have given, on the whole, a more complete and correct account of the war than is, to my knowledge, elsewhere to be found.

T. K.

LONDON, *October 1.*

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HISTORY

OR

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the History of Greece—Mode of Government of it by the Turks—Inhabitants—Albanians—the Armatoles—the Klephts—their Manners and Mode of Life—Popular Poetry.

DURING the three centuries which succeeded the time when her history emerges from the mists of the mythic ages, Greece exhibited one of the most active and busy scenes of social and political existence which the world has ever witnessed. The faculties of men were kept in a continued state of activity by the incessant demands made on them in consequence of the political relations of the various independent states into which the country was divided; and legislation, military science, and diplomacy, may be said to be, in a great measure, indebted for their origin to this golden age of Hellas. At the same period, all the arts which adorn and em-

bellish life attained a degree of perfection which has never been surpassed.

A period of two centuries succeeded, in which the superiority of the Macedonian and other monarchs, the successors of Alexander the Great, controlled the independence of Greece. The energy which had animated her rival states was fled, and during this period she makes no figure in the history of the world. The year 147 B.C. witnessed the last faint struggle of Grecian independence against the world-absorbing ambition of Rome, and the flames of Corinth lighted the funeral pile on which its remains were consumed.

Reduced to the condition of a province, Greece partook of the fortunes of the republic. It was the scene of war between Rome and Mithridates; it shared in the evils of the civil wars; it became a portion of the empire of the Cæsars. The tranquillity of the first two centuries of the empire was enjoyed by Greece in common with the rest of the Roman world; the invasions of the barbarians wasted it in the succeeding centuries: its devastators were the tribes of the remote peninsula of Scandinavia, who entered it on the north, or, embarking on the Euxine, landed their hardy youth on the coast of Attica.

In the division of the Roman world, Greece went to form a part of the eastern empire; and it remained in peaceful subjection to the despotism of Byzantium till the year 1204, when the decrepitude of the empire fell prostrate before a Venetian fleet and a small army of crusaders. *A large portion of the sea-coasts, and nearly all the islands, fell to Venice, who now proudly*

... churches, and other edifices, raised by
obles of the west, still remain to attest
ode in Greece.

igh the Latin empire in Constantinople
ut fifty-seven years, the Latin princes of
still retained their principalities, as sub-
the Byzantine emperors; and the first
1 of Greece by the Ottoman Turks, who
ourteenth century conquered the north-
1 western European dominions of the
1 emperors, was in consequence of an in-
1 from a bishop of Phocis to sultan Ba-
to obtain vengeance on Trudelinda, the
of the duke of Delphi. The ambitious
; cheerfully complied with the call. All
ntal Greece submitted at his approach;
erals Yacoob and Evrenos were sent to
the Morea; 30,000 of the inhabitants of
were removed to Asia, and Turkman
transplanted to the Peloponnesus. The
confusion into which the Turkish affairs
on the defeat and captivity of Bajazet by



of the continent. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, she gained the Morea and lost Candia; but in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the entire of Greece was under the dominion of the sultan.

Using the rights of conquest, the Turks had everywhere, except in the Cyclades, in which they did not settle, seized on the greater part of the most fertile lands. Under the title of *Agás*, a word corresponding to our *country gentlemen*, they formed the landlord and proprietor class of Greece;* the *Rayas*, as the Turks style their Christian subjects, usually farmed the lands of the proud and indolent Moslems, on what is called the metayer system; a tax called *kharatch* was paid annually by each Christian for permission to live and enjoy his religion; oppressive *corvées*, and the rapacity of the Turkish governors, kept them in a continual state of misery; the justice administered to them by the *Musulman* cadis, was venal and partial; abuse and insult were their daily treatment from the ignorant and fanatical Turks.

The country was divided, like the rest of the empire, into pashaliks; the subdivisions of these were governed by voivodes; a cadi was stationed in each town to administer justice. The entire of the Morea formed but one government; the person holding this government was always a vizir, that is, a pasha of three tails.† His

* Some of these men had estates in the Morea of L.30,000 a-year.—*Leake's Travels in the Morea*.

† The number of horse tails borne on poles before a *Turkish officer* denotes his rank. The greatest number is three.

title was Moreh-Valesi, (*Lieutenant of the Morea*); his residence was usually at Napoli di Romania, on the gulf of Argos, but latterly at the town of Tripolitza, in Arcadia. The islands, in general, were left to their own local administrations; the capitan-pasha, or admiral, was their governor-general, and every year he sailed round them, to collect the kharatch, and other taxes. The Isle of Candia, in which the Moslems formed nearly one-half of the population, was divided into three pashaliks.

The Greeks, however, were not totally devoid of landed property; the church, whose hierarchy had not been interfered with by the conquerors, retained some lands, as also did the descendants of some of the ancient families. Some of these had more, some less, of this species of property; others gained wealth by trade and commerce, and these formed the Greek gentry of the continent and the Morea. Under the Turks, all influence was in the hands of them, and of the higher clergy; they, like the head men of villages in the East, regulated the affairs of the districts in which they resided, collected the taxes, and made all the local arrangements which were requisite. The name given to them by the Turks was Khoja-bashis (*old-heads*), by the Greeks they were styled Gérontes (*elders*), Archontes (*archons*), Proëstí (*primates*), &c. Being under the necessity of using a considerable degree of subserviency towards their Turkish masters, the character of these men was not in general of an elevated cast; they had adopted many Turkish customs, and their tyranny over their *inferiors* was little less than that of the

Turks themselves. The islanders of all clays being less exposed to the baleful influence of oppression and insult, were, in general, of a superior character to their brethren of the continent.

The present inhabitants of Greece are do less, for the greater part, the descendants of ancient Hellenes; but, like many other countries, Greece has received some foreign accession to its population. The Valachian shepherds have for many centuries, pastured their flocks on mountains around Thessaly, and many of the descendants of the Latins are, of course, still remaining in the villages and towns. But Albania is the region which has sent most colonists into Greece. The people of this country, the successors, and probably the descendants, of ancient Illyrians, are also named Sheepheads; they are divided into various tribes, distinguished by dialects of their language, and names, such as Guegues, Tokshis, Mirdites, &c. &c. They were all of the Christian faith, and long, particularly under their valiant chief, Scanderbeg, offered obstinate resistance to the Turks. They finally submitted to their rule, and, like their neighbours the Bosniacs, the greater number of the tribes embraced the Mohammedan faith. They are of a highly martial character, and are to be found acting as the guards of most of the Turkish pashas and great vassals.

The Albanians gradually encroached upon Epirus and Acarnania; and, in the fourteenth century, they were invited into the Morea by the Greek princes who ruled it, to assist them against the Turks. The tribe of Bardounis in Laconia, and that of Lalla in Elis, derive their

petzia, and Poros, and they are also numerous in Attica and Bœotia. These Albanians of the Christian faith; they retain, in a measure, their ancient language, manners, &c.

From a very early period of the Turkish domination over Greece, a system was adopted—having a local police,† composed of natives, for the preservation of the peace in each district, and for repressing the incursions of the independent tribes of the mountains.

The appellation of this police was *Armatoloi* (Ἀρματολοί); they were commanded by a captain (καπιτάνος), who had under him a lieutenant, called Proto-palicare, (palicares—παλλικάροι)—being the designation of the common soldier who usually acted as his secretary. The office of captain was hereditary in a family. The *armatoles* were bound to obey the directions of the pasha or his deputy, and the Greek priors. The arms of the *armatoles* were the same as those of the Albanians, namely, a long



or armatole-districts into which Greece was divided, were seventeen in number, ten of which were in Thessaly and Livadia, four in Ætolia, Acarnania, and Epirus, three in Cis-Axian Macedonia. This species of force was unknown in the Morea. Each captain resided with a part of his men in the chief place of his district, the remainder were scattered in detachments over it. The armatoles, it must be again observed, were a purely Greek force, no Turks or Albanians being admitted into their body.*

The institution of the armatoles having left a good deal of power in the hands of the Greeks, the divan, at a subsequent period, sought to weaken it by establishing a countervailing Turkish force. The office of *dervenje-bashee* (*inspector of the passes*)† was instituted, and was usually conferred on one of the pashas of Greece, who was thereby empowered to keep on foot a force adequate to the preservation of the security of the highways, particularly the defiles of the mountains, throughout the country. As this was an encroachment on the rights of the armatoles, a considerable degree of ill feeling, which occasionally broke out into acts of violence, prevailed between them and the new police. Nothing, however, of importance occurred so long as the Porte adhered to the wise policy of not conferring the pashaliks of Greece on Albanians; but, during the last century, this policy was de-

* For our account of the armatoles and klephts, we are indebted to M. Fauriel's introduction to his "*Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*."

† Also, according to Leake, an office in the time of the *Byzantine emperors*.

parted from, and four Albanian chiefs were made successively pashas of Epirus, and derventee-bashees. These turned all their efforts towards the breaking up of the corps of the armatoles, and numerous conflicts ensued between them and the Albanian soldiers of the pashas.

The numerous mountain-ridges which occupy so large a portion of the surface of Hellas, have been at all times the seat of a wild and lawless independence. The tribes of Mani in the Morea, and of Sphakia in Crete, have never been completely brought under the Turkish power; the same was the case with those who dwelt in the precipitous heights of Olympus, Ossa, Pindus, and the other ranges of continental Greece, and they infested the inhabitants of the plain by their constant depredations. The appropriate appellation given to them was that of Klephts (Κλέφται), or *robbers*. Unable to subdue them, the Turks treated with them on very favourable terms. They acknowledged their right to independence, and to govern themselves by their own laws, as also to bear arms; and they only required a moderate tribute, by way of acknowledgment of the sultan's supremacy. The tribes nearest the plain accepted these terms; those who dwelt in the more inaccessible parts of the mountains disdained acknowledging a supremacy which could not be enforced, and they retained their former rude independence. It is thought, that as it was in Thessaly that the armatole system was first adopted, that it was employed against these last, and that the first armatoles were those klephts who had accepted the terms just mentioned, *who now turned their arms against*

their former associates, in defence of their own property and that of the peaceful inhabitants of the plain.

When the destruction of the armatole corps was attempted by the Turkish pashas, many of the captains and their bands, driven from their armatoliks, retired to the mountains, and adopted the klephtic life, while others maintained themselves in their districts by main force. The titles klepht and armatole, both implying enmity to the Turks, were now confounded; in some parts, as in Ætolia, the word armatole signified both states of life; in Thessaly, where perhaps the term klepht was more familiar, it was used by way of preference. A distinction, however, was made; the armatole who acted to preserve the peace of his district was called a *tame klepht* (κλέφτης ἡμερος); the independent robber, the genuine klepht or armatole in revolt, a *wild klepht* (κλέφτης ἄγριος).

The mode of transition from the armatolic to the klephtic state was this. When a captain became aware of a plot hatched against him by a pasha or the dervenjee-bashee, which he did not think himself able to resist, he instantly retired to the neighbouring mountains, whither his corps of armatoles lost no time in following him. He immediately directed his thoughts towards the augmentation of his band, and if his character stood high for courage and conduct, numbers of the victims of oppression repaired to him, in hopes of taking vengeance on their tyrants under his guidance. In this manner a klephtic chief sometimes found himself *at the head of two or three hundred, or even a*

greater number, of palicares; but in general these bands, as it was not easy to keep a large number together, rarely exceeded one hundred, frequently did not go beyond fifty men. They wandered freely over the mountains, but they usually had a kind of permanent station called a *liméri*, in the neighbourhood of the district from which they had been expelled.

The only means of living which the armatoles, when turned klephts, had, was by pillage. They, however, were not indiscriminate plunderers; the flocks of the pashas and of the Turkish beys and agas, which fed on the mountains, were frequently seized by them; they descended and plundered the villages and lands of the agas and beys, carrying off whatever might be of use to them, and burning what remained; the beys and agas themselves were not unfrequently seized and conveyed to the mountains, where they were detained till the ransom at which they were set was paid. But the only Greeks whom they pillaged, without absolute necessity, were the caloyers or monks, against whom they had a particular animosity, and who, in return, never failed to give any information which might enable the Turks to surprise them. When they plundered the other Greeks, they justified themselves by asserting that they deserved it, as they were the farmers and servants of the Turks.

They sometimes, when they found themselves sufficiently strong, attacked the villages, and even the towns. Their mode of proceeding on these occasions was as follows. They first sent to the place against which they had planned the attack, *directing a certain sum of money, or of*

goods, provisions, &c. to be furnished at a certain time and place, or else it would be burnt. As the Turks punished compliance with these klephtic requisitions, those to whom they were directed rarely yielded obedience to the first one; a second, and a third, would then come, containing menaces more terrible than those of the first. When a summons arrived whose four corners were burnt, delay was no longer safe, and the requisition was at once complied with. Similar summonses were occasionally sent to rich Turkish proprietors, or to the officers of government, and even to the Greek bishops, whom, as being rich and avaricious, the klephts regarded as fair game, though they had not any antipathy to them, as was the case with respect to the monks.

Similar situations will produce similar manners, and many of the traits of the klephtic character will call to our recollection corresponding traits of the Scottish Highlanders at one period, and of various other tribes of mountaineers, whose chief occupation was ravaging the adjacent low countries. The klepht was hardy and active; he lay in the open air, wrapped close in his cloak of goat's hair; he made his expeditions by night, selecting for that purpose the nights which were most dark and stormy.* The klephts never fought in a body; each man placed himself behind a piece of a wall or rock, a tree or a bush, where with his long gun he took certain aim at his enemy. From constant

* Εὗτ' ὄρεος περὺ φῆσι Νότος κατέχουσιν ὀμίχλην,
Ποιμείειν οὔτι φίλον, κλέπτῃ δέ τι νυκτὸς ἀμείνω,
says Homer, (IL III. 10.) The name and the thing were
both familiar to the old bard.

practice in firing at marks, during their leisure hours, these men had arrived at such a degree of exactness in taking aim, that it was a common exploit with them to hit at a distance of 200 paces an egg suspended from the branch of a tree, and some of them would even send a ball at the same distance through a ring, whose diameter hardly exceeded that of the ball itself. The flash from the gun of an enemy in the dark was sufficient to enable them to hit him. If a party of klephts were surrounded, and no other means of escape remained, they drew their swords and cut their way through their enemies. The stratagems which they employed in order to escape were frequently most extraordinary, as the following account of one of them will testify.

The celebrated Captain Katzantónis, and his palicares, were one time occupying the summit of a rugged mountain, which was accessible only by two very narrow defiles, about half a mile distant from each other. They had probably been betrayed, for two strong detachments of Albanians occupied the defiles. The palicares gave themselves over for lost, for the only possibility of escape remaining was by the smooth, slippery, and nearly perpendicular face of a lofty rock, which it was, however, almost certain death to attempt. While they viewed this precipice in dismay, Katzantónis bade them look at him, and follow his example. Going then to a pine-tree, he hewed down with his sword a strong branch; he cleared its lower part, leaving the bushy top on it, then going to the edge of the rock, he got lying on it, and began to descend; *the friction of the branches, pressed down by his*

weight, diminished the rapidity of his descent, and he reached the bottom in safety. His men followed his example, and the news of their ravages soon told the Albanians that their prey had escaped.

The klephts amused their leisure with all kinds of manly exercises, such as running, leaping, throwing the discus, as in the days of ancient Hellas. The agility attained by some of them is astonishing; the captain, Nico Tsaras, has been known to jump over seven horses ranged abreast; others are said to have cleared three carts laden with briers to the height of seven or eight feet. Many klephts are said to have been able, under the weight of their clothes, accoutrements, and arms, to keep up to a horse at full gallop.

The klephts were inured to support fatigue, want of sleep, hunger, and thirst, to a surprising degree. They have been known to sustain a combat of three days and nights without eating, drinking, or sleeping. Their firmness in enduring pain equalled that of the North American Indians; they have endured the smashing of all the bones of their lower extremities with sledge hammers without letting a groan escape them. Their wish was for a death in the field; *a good ball!* (καλὸν μολύβι) was an ordinary toast at their banquets. Like the ancient Northmen, they contemplated with aversion the idea of a death by disease.

Like the Northmen, also, the klephts were cruel towards their enemies, but kind and affectionate to their families and friends. One of the *most noble* features in their character was the

respect which they manifested towards the female sex. They often carried off the wives and daughters of wealthy Turks, and sometimes those of the Greek primates, and they kept these women with them in the wild woods and caverns for several days, till the ransom set on them should be paid. It not unfrequently happened that these females belonged to those who had abused the wives and daughters of the klephts, yet still not the slightest attempt was made on their persons. An instance is even given of a captain being slain by his own palicares, for having insulted a Turkish woman who was kept a prisoner till her ransom should arrive. One of the ballads which we shall presently have occasion to mention, describes a captain taking his repast in his *liméri*, with a Greek woman at his side, whom he had carried off. He insolently desires her to fill out drink for him; she undauntedly replies, "I am not thy slave, Dimos, that I should pour out drink for thee. I am the daughter, and the daughter-in-law, of a primate." This she says in the midst of a forest, on a wild mountain, where she was entirely at the mercy of her captors. "It is not among such men," justly observes Mr Fauriel, "that Scipio would have met with admiration for not having insulted his captive." *

* There may have been something of superstition in this respect for females. M. Raybaud (I. 288) observes, that the Greeks in general were rarely guilty of violating the chastity of female prisoners. The Maniotes, he says, had an idea that, in that case, a ball would hit them in the next action they were engaged in. The islanders did not share this prejudice, and they were consequently much less scrupulous on this head.

The klephts were extremely religious after their own fashion, resembling in this respect the Italian banditti, and all those who deem religion and morality to be two different things. A klepht, be he where he might, would keep as well as he could the festivals of the church; no degree of distress would induce him to take any offering or sacred utensil from a church; and an instance occurred of a chief, who had carried off an *ex voto* from a church of the Virgin, near Vónitza, being delivered up by his own palicares to Ali Pasha, by whose orders he was hanged. The famous Captain Blakhavas set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at the age of seventy-six, attended by his proto-palicare, and died in the Holy Land.

During the summer, when the fields were green and the weather warm, the klephts abode in the mountains. The shepherds, who drove their flocks up from the plains every spring to pasture among the glens and declivities of Pindus and its kindred ranges, were, both from inclination and interest, the friends and associates of the klephts, whom they furnished, at a moderate rate, with the flesh of kids, lambs, sheep, and goats. Wine, purchased in the towns, and concealed in the recesses of the *liméri*, enlivened the klephtic banquets; the pure air of the mountains gave health and inspired cheerfulness; and the klepht was distinguished for the gaiety of his humour and the poignancy of his repartee.

In the winter, when the snow began to cover the mountains, the klepht wrapt his arms and ammunition in strong pitched cloths, and concealed them in a cavern or in the crevice of a rock. He then descended into the plain, to spend

the time, till the return of the spring, with his friends or relatives, or he passed over to the Ionian Islands, where he could be safe beneath the protection of Venice. But, unaffected by social enjoyments, by security, and by the admiration with which his countrymen in general regarded him, the heart of the klepht was still among his mountains, and he looked eagerly for the moment when the verdant hue of the distant hills would tell him that the snow was dissolved, and that he might return to his *liméri*.

With an oppressed people like the Greeks, the men who venture to set at defiance those before whom others tremble, will always be regarded by their suffering countrymen with veneration and affection. The klephtic chiefs, accordingly, were the popular heroes, the Hercules and Theseus, of modern Greece. Their exploits formed the chief subject of the national ballads which were sung throughout the country by the wandering minstrels, the genuine descendants of the singers (*αοιδοι*) and rhapsodists of ancient Hellas; and thus the fame of a Blakhavas, a Katzantónis, a Nico Tsaras, was spread far and wide, and tended to keep up in the minds of the people the hatred of the Turks, and the hope of being, at some period or other, able to cast off their yoke. In effect, it was to the klephts that those who first conceived the idea of insurrection chiefly looked, esteeming their hardy and undaunted bands the nuclei of future armies in the cause of independence.

The ballads which we have just alluded to are seldom of great length, often consisting of only a few lines, in that respect differing widely

from the songs of the days of Homer.* They are of a very simple structure, unrhymed, regulated by accent, not by quantity, and consisting of lines of fifteen syllables. The following short specimen will serve to give an idea of them :—

What though the passes all are watched and kept by the Albanians?

While Sterghios lives, he heed will ne'er of them take,
or their pashas.

As long as on the hills it snows, we ne'er to Turks will
yield us.

Come, let us take our stations high, where wolves in caverns shelter.

Let slaves with Turks dwell in these plains, dwell in
these towns and cities ;

The towns of the bold palicares are glens and lonely
mountains.

'Tis better far with beasts to live than with the Turkish
tyrants.†

* This only applies to those collected by M. Fauriel; for, like those of the Highland bards, the effusions of the Hellenic singers are often, as it would appear, of considerable length. "On the day of his (Hypeilantis') arrival," says M. Raybaud, (I. 496,) "he invited to supper a party of the Greek captains, and all the foreign officers. Hardly had each person taken his place, when a *cul-de-jatte* of horrible deformity was brought in, and set down in a corner of the room. We looked, and soon heard issue from the breast of this modern Tyrtæus a full and sonorous voice, which sung the names and the exploits of those who had given lustre to the commencement of the present war. I was sorry that I was not able to judge of the merit of the poetry; but I can at least bear testimony to its abundance, and to the strength of lungs of this legless bard, for his songs did not terminate till a very late hour."

† Κ' ἂν τὰ διεβίνα τούτους, τὰ πῆραν Ἀλβανίτις,

Ὁ Στήργιος εἶναι ζωντανός, πασάδες δὲν ψηφᾶμι.

Ὅσον χιονίζουσι τὰ βουνὰ, τούτους μὲν προσκυνῶμεν.

π. τ. λ.

CHAPTER II.

Designs of Russia on Greece—Papas-ogloó proceeds to the Morea—Meets little success in Mani—Benákhi—Arrival of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean—Russians land in the Morea—Siege of Coron, and Capture of Mistra—Capture of Navarino, and Siege of Modon—Arrival of the Albanians in the Morea—Greeks and Russians defeated at Tripolitzá—Russians driven out of the Morea—Excesses of the Albanians—They are destroyed by Hassan Pasha—Mani reduced—Adventures of Androotzos—Account of Rhigas.

SUCH as we have described it in the foregoing chapter, was the state of Greece under the Turkish yoke, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Independence had fixed her seat in the various mountain-ranges, the people of the plains were galled by oppression, but advancing in knowledge, the Ottoman empire was becoming every day more feeble, and all men of sagacity were aware that it was verging to its fall.

The most formidable foe of the Ottoman power is, beyond question, Russia, before whose might it must, sooner or later, succumb; and the idea of the Russian cabinet seeking to take advantage of the oppressed condition of the Greeks, and their community of religious faith, is so obvious a one, that the conception of it is very generally, though without perhaps much reason, ascribed to Peter the Great. This monarch, however, took no steps to excite disaffection among the Greek subjects of the Porte; but in the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, a

Russian emissary appeared among the mountains of Taygetum, to ascertain the strength and the sentiments of the Maniotes who inhabit them, and to hold out a prospect of the aid of Russia when a favourable opportunity should present itself.

When Catherine II., great in talent and great in crime, had seated herself on the throne of her murdered husband, a proposal of raising Greece in insurrection was made to her favourite and paramour, Alexis Orlov, by a Thessalian named Papas-ogloó or Papa-dópoolo,* who was an officer of artillery in the Russian service. The ambitious Orlov eagerly caught at the project, dreaming of glory and fame for himself, and a kingdom in Greece for his royal mistress. Two Russian ships, laden with the produce of the north, were, in 1766, sent round by the ocean to Leghorn, and the money for which their cargo sold was placed at the disposal of Papas-ogloó, who, having established relations with all the Greeks scattered through the towns of the Adriatic, set out for the Morea.

Papas-ogloó directed his steps to the district of Mani, the ancient Taygetum, where, owing to the strength of the country, a race of men, falsely boasting to be the descendants of the ancient Spartans, maintained their independence, and exercised brigandage by sea and by land. Papas-ogloó spoke to these men of the liberation of Greece; but the Maniotes had already all the liberty that they desired, and they were

* That is, the *priest's son*; the former in Turkish, the latter in Greek. This birth is held in great respect in Greece.

not chivalrous enough to risk their independence in an attempt to communicate the blessing. Two of their chiefs, of the family of Mavromicháli, discussed his project with much good sense and judgment, and warned him against suffering himself to be led astray by the apparent alacrity of the other Greeks, who, he might rely upon it, would fly at the very sight of a turban. All he could obtain was a promise that the Maniotes would join the Russians, if they gave them an accurate idea of their plans, and the forces intended to carry them into execution, and sent deputies properly accredited to them.

These prudent precautions of the Maniote chiefs were not agreeable to the sanguine temper of Papas-ogloó; and quitting Mani, he proceeded to Calamáta, a town of some importance, distant about a mile from the sea, at the head of the gulf of Messenia. Here, in the person of a wealthy Greek named Benákhi, he found a man much more to his purpose than the rude chiefs of Mani. The riches of Benákhi gave him great consideration in the eyes of the Turks, as well as of his own countrymen, and he had enjoyed the favour of each succeeding pasha of the Morea; but it is to be observed, that, probably owing to the vanity and ambition which form so prominent a part of the national character, the possession of wealth and influence made the Greeks in general only the more ardent in their desires after independence. Benákhi, the first of his countrymen in riches and authority in the Morea, was readily led to imagine, that by the aid of the Russian empress, and *under her protection*, he might become the

prince of the peninsula. Led away by their enthusiasm, he and Papas-ogloó mutually deceived each other ; the one exaggerated the numbers, the power, the means, the patriotism of the Greeks ; the other promised every thing on the part of Russia. Some prelates, primates, and a few Maniote chiefs, relatives of Benákhi, met secretly at Calamáta, and entered into an engagement to raise 100,000 men when the Russians should arrive.

Papas-ogloó hastened to Venice, where Alexis Orlov and his brother Theodore had arrived towards the end of the year 1768. Emissaries were sent in all directions, and Venice became the centre of intrigues against the Ottoman empire. The cautious senate, however, soon gave the two Russians warning to quit that city, and choose some other place of residence. They took up their abode successively in different cities of Italy, still sending emissaries to keep up the hopes of the Maniotes, and Alexis assumed the title of envoy of God and the Tsarina for the deliverance of Greece. He sent medals of that princess, and presents in her name, to the primates, as testimonies of her regard for them and their country.

The Russian ministry was all along adverse to the project of raising the Greeks ; they conceived it to be quite beyond the present resources of Russia to bring it to a happy termination, and its failure would, they judged, only serve to alienate the affections of the Greeks. The influence of the favourite, however, prevailed over their remonstrances, and in the *month of September, 1769, a squadron of seven*

sail of the line, four frigates, and transports with 1200 men on board, sailed from the ports of the Baltic. As these vessels were old and ill constructed, several of them were lost on their way to England, where the fleet put in to refit. A second squadron, composed of four ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops of war, under the command of the Scottish admiral, Elphinstone, was at the same time getting ready for sea with all expedition.

It is said that the true reason for hastening the expedition to the Morea, was the condition of the Russian army, which had been driven out of Moldavia into Poland, and was then actually besieged in its camp on the Dniester by sixty thousand Turks. A diversion on the side of Greece might, it was thought, be of great advantage by distracting the attention of the Porte.

In the beginning of the year 1770, the Russian admiral, Spiridov, arrived in the Mediterranean with a part of the first squadron. He was joined by Theodore Orlov, who, leaving Port Mahon in the beginning of February, sailed direct for the Morea, expecting, as he had been led to think, that all Greece would rise at the sight of the Russian flag. Having cast anchor at Porto Vitylo, the ancient *Ætylus*, on the east coast of the gulf of Coron, he was there joined by the two *Mavromichális* of Mani, who came to confer with him. They demanded, previous to their making any engagement, some positive stipulations; more especially they required to see some document in the handwriting of the empress. Orlov producing an engagement, by which *they had bound themselves to second the*

efforts of a Russian force, they declared it to be a forgery of Papas-ogloó. After a good deal of altercation, they agreed to give their aid, knowing that their people would, in all probability, get a good deal of plunder during the contest, and reckoning on the strength of their mountains, to secure them from the vengeance of the Turks.

Disease had made such ravages among the Russians, that on leaving his ships almost without any crews, Orlov was able to land but between five and six hundred men, and with this slender force he barbarously proposed to excite the Greeks of the Peloponnesus to insurrection against their masters ! Upwards of a fortnight was spent in constructing some galliots, which were sent to the Ionian Isles to fetch off all who might be disposed to take a share in the enterprise. The Greeks, seeing the mere handful of men who had arrived, were dejected, and little disposed to join them ; but Orlov, by putting a bold face on the business, and declaring, that what he had brought was only the vanguard of the expedition commanded by his brother, which consisted of sixty vessels, and being seconded by the bishop of Montinero, who went about with the cross in his hand, offering two sequins for the head of every Turk that was slain, and by the influence of Benákhi, he succeeded in drawing together a few hundred men. These were formed into two divisions, to which Orlov gave the pompous titles of the Eastern and Western Legions of Sparta ; the first being destined to advance along the valley of the Eurotas, and, *being joined by the Maniotes, penetrate the east*

eastern legion advanced, massacring and
 g all that they met, for the terror of the
 n name made the Turks fly before them,
 ey arrived at Mistrá, which place they
 y assault. The Maniotes distinguished
 lves by their ferocity, and it was with
 ty that even the Turks, who had sought
 in the Christian church, could be saved
 heir rage. The Turks in general fled to
 itza, a large town in the valley where
 ly stood Tegea and Mantinea; and the
 of the Morea, who resided at Anápli, or
 di Romania, on the gulf of Argos, sent
 ourage them to a vigorous resistance, in
 : attack, by the assurance, that an Alba-
 rmy, and the fleet of the capitan-pasha,
 soon arrive for the defence of the Morea.

Porte had got early information from
 ench ambassador of the designs of Rus-
 t, with its characteristic pride and stupid-
 refused to give credit to the intelligence.

in astrology ; and they were at first for proceeding to a general massacre of the Greeks by way of precaution. They were contented, however, with making preparations to resist the invader.

On a false report of the fall of Coron, the people of Mesolonghi, in Ætolia, raised the standard of revolt ; Patrás, in Achæa, did the same. All parts of Greece and the islands were ready to rise on the appearance of the Russians, with arms and ammunition. The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands embarked in crowds, and landed in the Morea, to share in the crusade against the infidels.

Meantime the siege of Coron went on but slowly for want of artillery, and serious differences arose between the Greeks and their allies.

On one occasion, when Mavromicháli, the Maniote, had expressed himself with the boldness and energy of a freeman, Orlov affected to treat his conduct as insubordination. Roused to indignation, the mountain chief said to him, " You forget that I am not become the subject of the woman who commands *you*, and that if you had under your orders all the armies of your mistress, you would be still but a slave ; while *I*, the chief of a free people—even if fate had made me the meanest among them, my head would be of more value than yours." Each laid his hand on his pistol—disdain checked the one, fear the other.

The arrival of a sixty-gun ship, a bomb-ketch, and two transports with some troops on board, enabled the Russians to undertake something of *more* importance. It was resolved to abandon *the siege of Coron*, and proceed to that of Na-

varino, on the west coast of the Morea. The Greek inhabitants of Coron and its neighbourhood, fearing the vengeance of the Turks, crowded to the shore, with their families and property, seeking with cries and tears an asylum on board the ships; and the Turks, quitting the citadel, hastened to complete the destruction of the town, which had been already in part destroyed.

By the order of Alexis Orlov, Psaros, who had led the eastern legion to Mistra, proceeded against Tripolitza, of which city the archbishop and the primates had early entered into the conspiracy. Alexis himself meanwhile sat down before Modon, the ancient Methone, a town not far from Navarino, while an officer, named Dolgorucki, advanced and took possession of this last place. The siege was pushed on with vigour, and the place was on the eve of surrendering, when the arrival of the Turkish fleet off the coast of the Peloponnesus was announced, and at the same time it was learned that the Albanians were ready to burst into the Peninsula.

The Albanians having descended from their mountains to the number of 15,000, divided their forces; the cavalry and part of the infantry proceeding to the isthmus, the remainder of the infantry entering Ætolia. The inhabitants of Mesolonghi sought refuge in the isle of Anatolico, where they were massacred, notwithstanding a capitulation which had been granted to them. Crossing over to the Morea, the Albanians surprised Patras, on the night of Good Friday, when the *greater part of the inhabitants were*

in the churches. Numbers of them were slaughtered, others, especially the Ionians who were there, got into boats, to make their escape, but met with other Albanians on the sea, by whose arms they perished. The rest of the inhabitants fled to the mountains, whence it was attempted in vain to draw them by a promise of an amnesty. The Albanian cavalry now poured into the Morea; one thousand of them threw themselves into Tripolitza, in view of the besiegers; and Turks and Albanians, sallying forth, dispersed the Greeks, and cut to pieces the Russians; three thousand Christians who were in the town were massacred, and the archbishop and several priests were hanged. A camp of six thousand Moslems was formed under the walls, ready to proceed to Mistra, Modon, or Navarino, as soon as the fleet should have arrived to co-operate.

When they heard that the Ottoman fleet was off the coast of Mani, the Turks and Albanians marched for Coron by the defile of Nisi, which was defended by four hundred Maniotes, under John Mavromicháli. Though this chief had left the Russians in discontent, he was generous enough to send to assure them, that he would maintain the pass till they should come to his aid, if they were so inclined, or effect their escape, if they despaired of success. He kept his word, and nearly the entire body of the Maniotes fell bravely fighting.

The Turks now spread over Messenia, and the unfortunate inhabitants sought refuge under the walls of Navarino, which was occupied by the Russians. The Turks fell on the Russian camp before Modon, burst their way into

it, slaughtered a part of its defenders, and drove the rest to Navarino. Their cannon became the prize of the victors.

Orlov, who was in the fortress of Navarino, with a dastardly regard for his own safety alone, shut the gates against the crowds of unhappy men, women, and children, whom his wild project had exposed to destruction. In vain they stood, with piteous cries, at the foot of the ramparts, imploring him to give them a refuge from the merciless Moslems. He was deaf to entreaty. The enemy was now in view; the multitude ran down to the beach to get into the boats which were lying there. Some of the boats sunk, overladen with the fugitives, some thousands of whom got to the desert island of Sphacteria, which lies in front of the harbour, where they remained without food, water, or shelter. The Russians meantime got on board of their ships, and fled. Benákhi, deploring his folly, was forced to accompany their flight. The unfortunate Greeks in Sphacteria were massacred by the Turks.

After the expulsion of the Russians, the vizir of the Morea was anxious to get rid of the Albanians also, and suffer the Greek population to resume their former occupations. But the Albanians were not disposed readily to leave a country which held out a prospect of so much plunder. They resolved, too, to have it all to themselves; and they placed a guard at the isthmus to prevent any more of their countrymen coming to share in it. They replied to the orders of the vizir by clamorously demanding the pay *which was due to them*. As it was

not in his power to satisfy them, they divided themselves into bands, who traversed the country in all directions, massacring and pillaging Greeks and Turks indifferently. Having gotten a large proportion of the money of the Morea into their hands, they fell on an expedient to draw the remainder to themselves, by lending to the wretched Greeks at the rate of two *paras** a-month interest for each piastre; and then, adding interest to principal, like the creditors of ancient Rome, they had the debtor completely at their mercy, and were this way making themselves completely masters of the country. As to the vizir, they even had the audacity to keep him almost besieged in Napoli di Romania.

The Albanians had held possession of the Morea for nine years, regardless of the repeated firmans sent to command them to return to their own country, when the Porte, having made peace with Russia, ordered the celebrated Hassan Pasha to clear the Morea of them. Hassan assembled his troops at Argos, and set out on the 10th of June for Tripolitza, before whose walls the Albanians were encamped to the number of 11,000 men. Having marched during the night, he appeared with the dawn in the plain in which that town stands. Without moment's delay he attacked the rebels; the combat lasted throughout the greater part of the day and ended in the total rout of the Albanians and in the evening, Hassan erected before the eastern gate of Tripolitza a pyramid of more than 4000 heads. The fugitives were pursue

* A piastre contains forty paras.

and slaughtered, and in a woody gorge of the mountains, thence named the Defile of the Masmore, the greater part of them were slain. Of the survivors, some joined their kindred tribes of Lalla and Bardoonia; others entered the service of the Pasha; few returned to Albania.

The Maniotes did not escape so easily as they had reckoned on. Before the insurrection, they had been subject to a nominal tribute of fifteen purses, which they never paid; but now Hassan Pasha sent Hassan-bey with a body of troops into Mani, to reduce it to submission. This active chief took a great many of the Maniote castles, and forced several of their chiefs to surrender themselves. An annual tribute of thirty purses to the Porte, and five to the capitan-pasha, which was in future rigorously exacted, was laid on the district. The Maniotes were forced to submit to be governed by a bey of their own choice, subject to the approval of the Porte. Hassan-bey was made governor of Monemvasia, a strong place on the east coast of Mani, in order to check their piracies.*

Before we quit the Morea, we shall relate the adventures of Captain Androotzos of Livadia.†

The news of the landing of the Russians having spread rapidly over Greece, and the smallness of their numbers not being known, many of the klephtic chiefs of the north hastened with their palicares towards the scene of action. The most distinguished of these was Androotzos of Livadia, who, at the head of about 300 brave palicares, crossed the isthmus

* Leake's *Travels in the Morea*.

† Fauriel.

of Corinth, and directed his course for Messenia. But he soon, to his grief, learned that the cause which he came to support was lost. The Turks and Albanians were spread over the whole country, plundering and massacring the unfortunate peasants ; and he saw that it was doubtful if he should be able to regain Livadia.

Undismayed, Androotzos cheered his men, and desired them to rely on him ; and, proceeding to Tripolitza, presented himself before the pasha, and demanded a safe conduct for himself and his men. This was granted at once ; but measures had been taken to render it of no avail ; and, when he entered the isthmus, he found a large force of horse and foot waiting for him in a strong position. They charged him instantly. Androotzos feigned flight, till he reached an advantageous position ; then turning, charged his pursuers in turn so fiercely, that he forced them to a precipitate flight. Finding the isthmus thus closed against him, he turned to the west, and marched along the gulf of Lepanto with the intention of getting on board any Ionian vessels that he might find in Patras, or any other port. The Turks closely pursued him, and, day or night, the combat was never intermitted. The wearied palicars, after ten days of fatigue and danger, came on the tenth day to the neighbourhood of Vostitza, a seaport, some miles to the east of Patras. Here they were assailed for three successive days and nights by the Turks. On the fourth morning, Androotzos encouraged his desponding men to be the assailants. They fell on the Mussulmans, ere they were aware of them ; the

combat was long and obstinate. At length the enemies fled, leaving a great number slain, and the greater part of their provisions and baggage. Androotzos lost about the fourth of his little army. Of all the spoil, the victors took nothing but the food : they had been three days without eating, and many had fallen with hunger in the battle. They lost no time in proceeding to Vostitza, where they found vessels of Corfu and Zante, in which they embarked ; and landing at Prevesa, they continued there till an article of amnesty for the Greeks, inserted in the treaty of Karnargie, in 1774, enabled them to return to Livadia.

The base cruelty and selfishness displayed by the Russian cabinet, in thus luring the unfortunate Greeks into rebellion, and then leaving them exposed to the vengeance of the Porte, did not alienate their affection for that power, or diminish the belief, founded on current prophecies, that their deliverance was ultimately to come from the north. They had, however, received a lesson of prudence ; and, eager as they were to cast off the oppressive yoke of the barbarians, they abstained from all insurrectionary movements for a long series of years. Meantime exertions were made to prepare the Grecian mind for appreciating and acquiring independence. Schools were opened, in which the ancient literature of Hellas, and a portion of that of modern Europe, were taught ; translations were made into the Romaic or modern Greek of various works ; and many patriotic Greeks sought by their writings to reanimate the ardour *for liberty and independence*.

Of these men the most celebrated was Rhigas. He was born in the year 1753, at Velestini, a little town in Thessaly. Having received as good an education as his country could afford, he devoted himself to commerce, and settled at Bukharest, the capital of Valachia. He here found leisure from business sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies, and he became familiar with the languages and the literature of France, Italy, and Germany. His favourite study was the ancient literature of his native country; and as his imagination warmed at the contemplation of free and independent Hellas, he brooded over plans for restoring her to that happy state. It is asserted, that he had the influence and the address to organize a secret society, the pattern and forerunner of the future Hetairia, for the purpose of emancipating Greece; and that its members were the principal prelates, merchants, primates, captains, and others of the Greek nation, together with some eminent foreigners, and even some Turks of note, such as Passvand-ogloo, the refractory pasha of Vidin.

Rhigas afterwards left Bukharest, and took up his residence in Vienna, where he commenced the publication of a Greek journal, translated the travels of Anacharsis, and other works, into Romaic, and wrote some original ones. It was at this period also, that—a modern Tyrtaeus—he composed those spirit-stirring hymns, which have since roused the youth of Greece to deeds of heroism.

Rhigas had all the vanity and imprudence of his country; he talked openly of his projects. *The Turkish government* got information, and

grew alarmed. An application was made to the cabinet of Vienna; Rhigas and four others were seized and delivered up to the Porte, and they were beheaded at Belgrade, in May 1798.*

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Ali Tebelinli—his Early Life—Marries the Daughter of Capelan Pasha—Plots against his Father-in-Law—Murders his Brother-in-Law, and also Selim Pasha—Is made Pasha of Larissa and of Jannina.

AFTER the unfortunate termination of the insurrection of 1770, the political interest of Greece was for several years attached to the person of a man, for whom his ambition and his crimes have obtained a lasting celebrity; and his history is too closely interwoven with the noble struggle of the Greeks, which we have undertaken to record, to admit of its being passed over in silence.†

Ali Tebelinli (i. e. *native of Tebelin*) was born about the year 1740, at Tebelin, in Epirus. His father, Veli, having been driven from his paternal heritage, in the little town of Tebelin, by his two elder brothers, had been forced to turn robber for his support. Having enriched

* See Notice sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Rhigas, by Nicolopoolo, at the end of Raybaud's Memoires sur la Grèce.

† M. de Pouqueville is the guide whom we follow throughout in our account of Ali Pasha, as his long residence as French consul at Jannina gave him superior opportunities of becoming acquainted with his history.

himself by this trade, and got a hardy band of followers, he came suddenly to his native town, and attacked and burnt his brothers in the family mansion. Master of the whole fortune of the family, he now became the chief aga of Tebelin. Though he had already a son by a slave, who afterwards bore him another son and a daughter, he was ambitious to ally himself to some family of consequence in the country, and he sought and obtained the hand of Khamco, daughter of a bey of Conitza, related to Khoord, pasha of Berat. By her he had a son, Ali, and a daughter, Khainitza.

Veli dying in consequence of excess, at the age of 45, his widow Khamco resolved to support the rights of her son: she poisoned, as was asserted, his eldest brother, and collected around her as many of her husband's partisans as she was able. The number of her adherents became so great, and her ulterior projects so bold, that the people of the neighbouring districts of Cormovo and Gardiki, fearing for their independence, resolved to stand betimes on their defence against her; and one of those little wars, so common among the turbulent tribes of Albania, broke out, in which Khamco and her children were taken prisoners, and confined at Gardiki. They were, however, by means of a Greek of Argyrocastro, ransomed for 22,800 piastres, (about L.3000;) and Khamco's circumstances being thus somewhat reduced, she no longer meddled in public affairs, but devoted her time to giving her son such an education as would *prepare him for the commission of every crime which leads to greatness in the East.*

Ali began to put the lessons of his mother early into practice, and before he was 14 years old he had acquired some fame by carrying off the sheep and goats of his neighbours. By what he made in this way, and the savings of his mother, he collected about him a set of idle, thieving vagabonds; and he soon felt himself strong enough to attempt carrying into effect Khamco's plans of vengeance against the people of Gardiki and Cormovo, who had made her a captive. He failed, however, in his attempt on the latter people, and ran away back to Tebelin as fast as his legs could carry him. His mother received him with sarcasms and contempt. Galled by her reproaches, Ali left Tebelin at the head of thirty palicares, and went and took service with the pasha of Negropont; but soon wearied with the idle sort of life which he led there, he moved into Thessaly, and became a highway robber. Having made some money in this way, he went up into Mount Pindus, where he plundered some villages; and he then returned to Tebelin, where his wealth at once procured him consideration.

Repose not being suited to his temper, Ali soon resumed his former courses, and he carried his depredations to such a length as drew on him the attention of Khoord Pasha, the governor of Middle and Lower Albania. Troops were sent in pursuit of him, and he and his comrades were taken, and cast into prison at Berat, the capital of Middle Albania. The others were forthwith hanged as robbers; the old vizir took compassion on the youth and beauty of Ali, who was, moreover, his relative; he

gave him his life, and kept him for some years with himself, in hopes of weaning him from his evil courses ; and at length, yielding to the repeated solicitations of Khamco, he set him at liberty, assuring both mother and son, that they had no mercy to expect if they persisted in disturbing the public tranquillity. They promised to remain quiet, and as long as Khoord lived, they kept their word.

Epirus, or Lower Albania, was at that time divided into three pashaliks—Delvino, Jannina, and Paramythia ; the districts of Chimæra, Gardiki, Zoolati, Argyrocastro, and Sooli, were free and autonomous, but acknowledging the superiority of the pashas ; the vizir Khoord exercised the supreme authority over the whole. Jealousies and animosities prevailed among the people of the different districts, and petty wars were continually breaking out ; but a kind of balance of power was instinctively maintained, and when any district was menaced by a more powerful neighbour, some of the others hastened to its defence.

Ali now looked for occupation as a partisan in the quarrels of others, and he soon took a distinguished rank among the beys of Epirus. Being at this time about 24 years of age, he was anxious to strengthen himself by some matrimonial alliance ; and he sought and obtained the hand of Eminé, the virtuous and amiable daughter of Capelan, the fierce and turbulent pasha of Delvino, who resided at Argyrocastro. Capelan was one of those pashas who had taken *up the chimerical idea of becoming independent, and he reckoned on having an able ally and instrument in his son-in-law.*

It was at this time that the adventurer named Stefano Piccolo, (*Little Stephen*), who gave himself out to be Peter III., the murdered husband of Catherine, had excited the Montenegrins to take arms against the Porte; and agents sent through Epirus, had induced the Souliotes and the Chimæriotes to join in the same cause. The artful Catherine, who was but too well aware of the falsehood of the pretensions of Stefano, refused to participate in the actions of the Montenegrins, who had been for some years subjects of Russia, and left to the Porte the task of chastising them, as well as its own rebellious subjects. Orders were therefore issued to all the vassals of the sultan to lend their aid to subdue the insurgents.

Capelan, instead of hastening to the standard of the vizir Khoord, hung back by the advice of his son-in-law, and secretly thwarted the plans and measures of the vizir, and the incomplete success which was obtained against the rebels was ascribed to his disloyalty. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the Roomeli-Valesi, (*Governor of Roomelia*), at Monastir, to give an account of his conduct. Ali did all in his power, and made his wife, Eminé, join her entreaties, to induce Capelan to obey the summons. The pasha went to Monastir, and was forthwith seized and beheaded. This was what Ali had expected, for he had been the secret accuser of his father-in-law, whose place and wealth he hoped to get; but, to his great mortification, the pashalik was given to Ali, bey of Argyrocastro, a man of approved *loyalty*, who faithfully transmitted the *wealth of Capelan to the Porte*.

Though disappointed, Ali was not depressed ; the new pasha was unmarried, his sister, Khainitza, was just now marriageable ; a match between them was proposed ; the pasha readily hearkened to the proposal, and espoused the sister of Ali, who was speedily engaged plotting against his brother as before against his father-in-law. His ambition, it is said, had at this time dared to aspire to the only daughter of the vizir Khoord, when that aged prince died, after having given his daughter in marriage to Ibrahim, bey of Avlona, who was appointed his successor in the vizirate of Middle Albania.

“ I now at length ” (these are Ali’s own words*) “ became aware of the necessity of establishing myself solidly in the place of my birth. I had partisans there who were disposed to serve me, and formidable adversaries whom it was necessary to find in fault in order to destroy them all together ; and I conceived the following plan for accomplishing my object.

“ It was my custom, after a hunting party, to lie down to take my afternoon sleep in the shade of the wood of Bentcha ; and I made one of my trusty followers propose to my enemies to watch me thither, and to fall on and assassinate me. I myself gave the plan of the whole affair, and then, going to the appointed place before my adversaries, I took a goat, and tying its legs together, and muzzling it, put it lying under my cloak. I then returned to my house by byways, and in disguise. Meantime my ene-

* According to M. de Pouqueville.

aidings reached my harem. I heard the
of my mother and my women, mingled
the shouts of my enemies. I did not stir.
the news be spread. I waited till night,
they were drunk with wine and joy. I
indeceived my mother, and, aided by my
ans, I fell on my enemies. Night was on
de. They were all exterminated before
in appeared. I distributed their riches and
houses among my creatures; and from that
ent I could say that Tebelin was mine.”
cherished a deep hatred to his brother-
r, the pasha; and it is said that he endea-
d to prevail on Khainitza to poison her
nd. She had, however, the virtue to re-
is solicitations, and he gave over the pro-
or a time. At length he found a more
g agent in Soliman, the pasha's brother,
om he promised the hand of Khainitza,
he inheritance of her husband. As the

The ambition of Ali was not yet to be gratified. The Sanjak, (*standard*,) or pashalik of two tails of Delvino, was bestowed by the Porte on Selim Bey, belonging to one of the principal families of the country; and the seat of government was established in the town of Delvino. Ali applied himself to gain the affection of the new pasha, and he became the constant inmate of his palace. All his thoughts were now directed towards the destruction of his benefactor, and the upright character of Selim Pasha furnished him with the means of ruining him with the Porte.

The pashalik of Delvino bordered on the possessions of the Venetians, on the mainland; and this had been a constant source of quarrel between them and the preceding pashas. Selim adopted a different course from his predecessors, and he established amicable relations with the government of Corfu. He some time afterwards sold a wood near Lake Pelodes to the Venetians, and Ali took advantage of this circumstance to malign him to the Porte, already ill-inclined towards him on account of noble qualities. He accused Selim of having alienated a part of the Sultan's territory, and of a design of putting the whole province of Delvino into the hands of the infidels. Without any enquiry being made, a firman was secretly forwarded to Ali, directing the death of Selim Pasha.

Ali, who had retired to Tebelin, hastened to Delvino, where he was received by Selim with his usual kindness, and an apartment was assigned him in the palace. He repaired every *morning*, according to custom, to pay his re-

to the pasha. At length he feigned illness, and requested that the pasha would come in his apartment. Murderers were ordered in a press. The pasha came. At the given signal, (Ali's letting his coffee-cup fall to the ground,) the assassins rushed forth, and slew, the excellent Selim. His guards fled at the noise. Ali displayed the firman, and they bowed submission. The head of the murdered man was cut off, to be sent to the Seraglio. The pasha, the beys, and the Greek primates, assembled to draw up a statement of the affair; and a seal was placed on the goods of the murdered man, which now belonged to Ali.

The reward of the traitor was the pashalik of Thessaly, (*i. e.* Thessaly,) and the office of *jee-bashee*; and by the orders of the pasha he took into his pay a corps of 4000 rebellious Albanians, to crush the power of the pashas of his province.

"Left behind me, in Lower Albania," said Ali Pasha, as we are now to call him, "a man of a pasha, who was the plaything of the pashas of Jannina, and I avoided passing near that town on my way to my post. I went through the Zagori, where the trusty *—whose soul be with God! for he was a good man—replenished my purse, without the permission of Soliman, who was then bey of Epirus. We raised, with the aid of my brave Sheeptars, a trifling con-

tza was a Greek of Mount Pindus, with whom I formed an intimacy during his first abode in

tribution, which stood me in good stead ; for on arriving at Trikkala, I found nothing but an exhausted country. They had here a crowd of poor peasants, whose labours enrich such personages as we. The agas of Larissa had invented conspiracies, in order to have a pretext for seizing their sheep, their wives and children. Those they ate, these they sold. I saw at once that there had never been any rebels or robbers but the Turks. I was soon, therefore, in a state of hostility with the beys of Larissa. However I began with pouncing on the parties of *armatoles* who infested the plains ; and I speedily drove them back into their mountains, where I kept them, as it were, penned up, till I should find occasion to make use of them. I, at the same time, sent some heads to Constantinople to amuse the sultan and the populace, and money to his ministers ; for *water sleeps, but envy never does.*

Ali spent some years in Thessaly, where he re-established order throughout the whole country. Under the guise of a rigid adherence to justice, he amassed great treasures ; for it was always on the wealthy beys, and other persons of opulence, that the sword of justice descended. Presents, opportunely bestowed, gained him favour and influence at the Porte. At length he found himself in a condition to bid for the pashalik of Jannina.

It was previously, however, necessary to ruin the actual pasha in the mind of the sultan. For this purpose, Ali, by means of Nootza, formed an intimacy with Paleópolis, the Greek *voivode* of Ætolia, and head of the *armatoles* of that province. They had an interview at Trikkala.

while Thessaly was flourishing be-
fore the government of Ali Pasha. The com-
plaint of the province reached the Porte, and
the Turkish government, acting, as usual, with-
out delay, deemed that the wisest course
was to confer the ravaged province, under
the name of an arpalik, (*province to be conquer-*
ed) on the able pasha of Thessaly.

After the death of Khoord Pasha, the beys of
the province had enjoyed a state of anarchic inde-
pendence, directing all things according to their
own will, and keeping the feeble and inefficient
governors who came to govern them, prisoners in
the castle of the Lake. Ali Pasha had long
exercised influence among them; but owing to the
uncertainty of his character, it was not
known when the news arrived of his ap-
pointment to the government, it was almost
universally resolved not to receive him. Ali,
feeling himself strong enough to reduce
the province to order, contented himself with pillaging
the towns and villages. Those who suffered



Jannina by night, and going to the tribunal of the *cadi*, he demanded to have his *firmans* of investiture registered and published. This legal act being performed, he was proclaimed pasha of two tails of Jannina; and he thus united in his person three important posts. This event occurred in the year 1788.

To break the power of the beys of Jannina was the first object of Ali; and to effect this he had recourse to every means of depriving them of their property, well assured, that, when poor, they could form no party against him in the *divan*. At the same time he lavished his caresses on the Sheeptars; and, what had been hitherto unknown, he introduced Greeks into his council, knowing the advantages which he might derive from their talents.

Feeling himself now sufficiently strong, he resolved to set about avenging the insults of his mother and himself on the people of Cormovo; for the ferocious Khamco, when dying, had charged him never to rest till he had had vengeance on them and the people of Gardiki; and Ali, though the most heedless of men in cases of benefits, never forgot an injury or insult. He collected a force, of which he gave the command to Demir Dost, who had been *kaimakan* (*standard-bearer*) of Delvino, and sent it against Cormovo. Ali's own sons, Mookhtar and Veli, and their cousin, Ismail Pashô, made their first campaign in this expedition. Under the guise of a truce, the people of Cormovo were lulled into security, and then were fallen on in the night, and massacred. An accession of territory to Ali was the consequence of this act.

As this territory belonged to the pashalik of Berat, or Middle Albania, Ibrahim Pasha was roused at this encroachment; and, after some fruitless negotiation, he sent a body of troops under the command of his brother Sëphir, bey of Avlona. Against these, Ali summoned the armatoles of Thessaly; and after villages had been burnt, peasants robbed and hanged, and flocks carried off on both sides, peace was made. Ibrahim gave his daughter in marriage to Mookhtar, the eldest son of Ali, and the disputed territory as her dower. As Sëphir bey had displayed qualities which might prove formidable hereafter, Ali contrived to have him poisoned by a physician; and, after his usual fashion, he hanged the agent of the crime, that no witness might remain of it.

Such had been the principal events of the life of Ali Pasha, previous to the time when he attempted the reduction of the Sooliotes, of which brave and hardy tribe we now proceed to give some account.

CHAPTER IV.

Origin of Sooli—Manners of the Sooliotes—Their First War with Ali Pasha—Second War—Third War—The Monk Samuel—Surrender of Sooli—Treachery of Ali Pasha.

IN the latter half of the 17th century, some shepherds of Gardiki, in Epirus, to escape the ill-usage of the Turks, retired with their fami-

lies and their flocks to the district of Khaimooree, (*Chimæra*), which faces the isle and channel of Corfu, and fixed their abode on one of its most rugged mountains. Other victims of tyranny, both Greeks and Christian Albanians, soon joined them; and to the number of 100 persons, they formed a village, which was named Sooli, as it was situated in the ancient Selleis. They gradually extended their power over the neighbourhood, and at the close of the last century, Sooli was the capital of a little republic.*

The inhabitants of this republic were the Sooliotes, and the Para-Sooliotes; the former, the descendants of the original founders of the state, were the governing party. They dwelt in eleven villages, of which the four oldest, Sooli, Avarikos, Samoniva, and Kiápha, were named the Tetrakhorion. The Para-Sooliotes inhabited sixty villages, conquered from the neighbouring agas. These people were the subjects; and though the Sooliotes were as rigorous masters as ever the Turks had been, yet, as they were Christians, their yoke was borne without complaint. The Sooliotes, when their power had forced the Porte to recognise them as an independent people, still continued to pay the capitation-tax, as rayas, for themselves and their subjects, on whom they raised the necessary sums; and they also obliged the pasha and the neighbouring agas to pay them *black-mail*, to save their lands from devastation.

The villages of the Tetrakhorion were built

* For an account of the Sooliotes, see Fauriel, vol. I. p. 225, *et seq.*

on the precipices of a mountain, and the only approach to them was by a winding defile of three miles in length—a labyrinth of trees, rocks, and beetling cliffs. At certain distances, on the most rugged parts of the defile, were erected towers for defence. Near the first tower, at the end of the first mile, lay the village of Kia-pha; and two miles farther, on steep cliffs, surrounding a circular valley, were built the other three villages. The remaining seven villages, called the Heptakhorion, were colonies of the former, and lay on a fertile plain, at the foot of the mountain. The population of these eleven villages was about 5000 souls. The Para-Sooliotes, whose villages were on the flat country round the mountain, within a circuit whose radius was from 12 to 15 miles, amounted to about 7000 persons.

The 5000 Sooliotes formed about 800 families, which were collected into 47 pharas, or tribes. These pharas were each composed of the families which came of a common stock, or were allied; and each phara was governed by the head of the oldest and most respectable family in it. All private disputes were settled by the heads of the families, or pharas, to which the disputants belonged; and all public matters were discussed and settled by the council of the 47 heads of pharas.

Peace and war were necessarily almost the only public business of the state; and in the latter case, every measure was regulated beforehand. At the approach of an enemy, the Sooliotes of the plain were to abandon their houses and property; *the old men, the women, and*

children, to retire to the mountain ; the men to place themselves at the entrance of the defiles, and the other Sooliotes to come down from the mountain to aid them. The Para-Sooliotes were abandoned to the enemy.

Their only arms were the musket and the sword. Each man posted himself where he could act with most advantage, and least danger. No one was to fly, or show any terror of the enemy. It was their maxim to oppose but a few of their men to a large body of enemies, but to attack a small party with all their force ; they would therefore send but 150 or 200 against 5000 or 6000 men, while they would fall on 500 or 1000 with double their number. For, in the former case, all they could hope for was to repel the enemy ; in the latter, there was the prospect of destroying the whole corps, or of making a number of prisoners, whom they might sell, or set at ransom.

As 1500 combatants was the utmost that the Sooliotes could muster, the lives of their men were extremely precious in their eyes ; and every precaution was adopted to prevent quarrels, which would so easily become bloody feuds, and bring on the destruction of the community.

The women followed the men to the war, to bring them provisions and ammunition, and they not unfrequently fought at their sides. By their presence they stimulated them to exertion ; and they have been sometimes seen to snatch his arms from one who they thought was behaving cowardly, and to take his place.

The petty wars which the Sooliotes had, from the time of their first establishment, waged

the design of rousing the Greeks to insurrection, and Russian emissaries traversed the country with that view. The recollection of the disasters of 1770, however, had cooled the ardour of the Greeks for those who, as it was believed, had betrayed them, and they were not to be moved. In 1789, some Greeks were sent out for St Petersburg, where they met the most flattering reception; and on their return

Sotiri, primate of Vostitza, wrote to the Sooliotes, informing them of the designs of the Russian empress in favour of Greece, and urging them to commence hostilities against the Turks, as a signal for the general rising of the Greeks.

On hearing that the Sooliotes were showing symptoms of an intention to renew hostilities, the Turks sent 3000 men against them. The Sooliotes, however, were prepared to receive them, had placed



covering the spoil, and chasing the ravagers the valley of Jannina, where they burned the mosques and the country houses. Ali, being at this time summoned to join the army at the Danube, and Greece remaining quiet, the Sooliotes, content with having repelled the enemy, desisted from any farther hostilities. In 1791 after the return of the pasha, they descended again from their eyry, and spread their ravages over Amphilochia; the commerce of Low Albania was disturbed by them, and their daring bands penetrated even to Mount Pindus. But as they plundered indifferently friend and foe, they alienated both the Turks of Thesprotia and the klephtic chiefs of Agrapha (*Pindus*). At the commencement of winter they returned to repose in their mountains.

The Sooliotes, as usual, satisfied with their success, remained inactive; and Ali shortly afterwards feigning some causes of quarrel with the people of Argyrocastro, he wrote to the Sooliotes in the most flattering terms, inviting them to join him in an expedition against the town, and offering them double the pay of the Albanians, because, as he said, they were twice as brave as they. The Sooliotes, though justly distrustful of Ali, could not resist the temptation of so much money; but they were prudent enough to send only seventy men, under the command of Tzavellas, sufficient, as they assured him in their letter, to make him victorious in every quarter. Ali, who perceived their distrust, took no notice at the time; he received his auxiliaries with every demonstration of respect, and joining them to 10,000 chosen A-

banians, he set out for Argyrocastro. At about thirty miles from Jannina he made a halt; the Sooliotes, unsuspecting of treachery, laid down their arms and went to take repose. Ali instantly ordered his Albanians to fall upon and make prisoners of them. The Sooliote warriors could offer no resistance, and all of them were destined to be conducted to Jannina, and cast into its dungeons. Turning then suddenly, Ali directed his march for Sooli, hoping to take the inhabitants by surprise. Fortunately one of the captive Sooliotes broke from his conductors, plunged into the river Thyamis, and swimming across it under a shower of balls, reached the mountains, and announced the approach of Ali, who arrived within three hours at the mouth of the defiles, which he now found well guarded. Without venturing to attack them, the wily pasha fell back, resolving to try the effect of stratagem and treachery. Summoning Tzavellas before him, he menaced him with the most cruel death if he did not put him in possession of Sooli. "How can I do so," replied he, "when I am your prisoner? If you would have me to do it, give me my liberty; let me send to Sooli for my son, and let him remain in your hands as a hostage." Ali assented; Photos, the son of Lambros Tzavellas, a youth of eighteen, was put into his hands, and his father set out on his return for Sooli. Ali was expecting the accomplishment of his promise, when the following letter was presented to him.

"Ali Pasha Tebelin, I exult in having deceived a knave; I am ready to defend my country against a robber like thee. My son may

die, but I shall avenge him before the grave receives me. Some Turks, like thee, will say that I am a father without pity, who have sacrificed my son for my personal freedom. But tell me wouldst thou not, if thou became master of our mountains, have slaughtered my son and all the population? Who would avenge him then? Now that I am free, we may be conquerors; my wife is still young, and I may have other children. If my son murmured at being sacrificed for his country, he would be unworthy of living, and of bearing my name. Come on, thou infidel. I burn for vengeance!

“ I, thy sworn enemy,

“ TZAVELLAS.”

This letter filled Ali with rage; but his passions were always under the control of prudence and he did not deem it expedient to injure the hostages. He preferred daunting the Sooliotes by the display of his forces. He divided his army of 15,000 men into four corps, the two largest of which, commanded by his son Mookhtar and himself, occupied the Sooliote village upon the defiles leading to Sooli.

A bold plan for surprising the pasha in the midst of his camp, and carrying him off, was formed by the Sooliotes; but, fortunately for Ali, it came to his knowledge, and he resolved to delay no longer, but to make the meditated attack. Assembling his officers, and 7000 or 8000 of the bravest of his Albanians, he addressed them in terms calculated to excite their fanaticism and hatred of the Sooliotes, and he promised a gratification of 500 piastres to each

those who should penetrate to Sooli and take it. The Albanians drew their swords, and swore to accomplish his wishes.

To oppose this formidable force, the Sooliotes had but 1300 warriors, commanded by George Botzaris, the rival of Lambros Tzavellas in valour and experience. On the 2d of July, 1792, the troops of Ali advanced to the attack; after a brave defence of the defiles, the Sooliotes fell back to Kiapha, where small parties could act with greater advantage. The Albanians attacked them with a degree of obstinacy and intrepidity to which they had not been accustomed; twice repulsed with great slaughter, they returned a third time to the charge. The heat of the day was now excessive; the Sooliotes were suffering from the combined effects of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; their guns were grown so hot with constant firing, that they could no longer hold them; and, after a combat of ten hours, they fell back, in order to take up new positions in the higher part of the mountain. At the second tower, a small detachment, commanded by George Botzaris in person, made a halt; a much larger corps, under the command of Lambros Tzavellas, placed itself in ambush in a dense wood which overhangs the defile; and 400 men took their post at Sooli, to oppose the enemy in front.

The Albanians, elated with their success, pushed forward; as they met no opposition at the second tower, they passed it by. They continued to ascend the mountain, and at length they approach Sooli. Here some of the Sooliote *women*, *unacquainted* with the plan of the

chiefs, who were only waiting till the Albanians were caught in the trap which they had laid for them, thinking that the glory of saving the country was reserved for them, prepared to defend the village. Moskho, the wife of the brothers Tzavellas, seized an axe and broke open a chest of cartridges: she filled her apron with them, grasped a sword and gun, and, at the signal of her companions, advanced to meet the invaders; the 400 men joined them, and fell on the ascending foes, and drove them back. A detachment fled towards the second tower, Botzaris ordered a destructive fire on them; at the same time Tzavellas, at the head of those who were in ambush, took them in flank; balls showered on them in all directions, fragments of rocks hurled down the sides of the hills; and the Albanian who had passed the second tower found his death—the rest fled towards the third tower, pursued by the victors.

Moskho was one of the most ardent in the pursuit. Around the tower of Kiapha she found the bodies of ten young Sooliotes, to whom she had been given the charge of defending it. One of them, who had just breathed his last, she recognised her nephew, Kitsos Tzavellas. She bends over him, kisses his lips, covers him with her apron—"Beloved nephew," says she, "it is too late to save thy life, but I can at least avenge thy death on thy murderers;"—she then set forward in pursuit of the flying Albanians.

The Albanians were flying on all sides in dismay; they fling away their arms, seek refuge in the woods and mountains; arms, ammunition, baggage, every thing falls into the hands

victorious Sooliotes. 3000 Albanians, it is said, were slain ; the loss of the Sooliotes amounted to 74 men killed, and 100 wounded.

Ali, who had seen the catastrophe from a distance, was the first to fly, and his speed was such, that he killed two horses between his camp and Jannina. He shut himself up in his palace, and for an entire fortnight he admitted no one to his presence. Obligated to defer his plans of vengeance, he sent a bishop to the Sooliotes, and, through him, made a peace with them on the following conditions :—1st, to cede to them a certain extent of territory ; 2dly, to pay them 100,000 piastres as a ransom for the prisoners whom they had taken ; 3dly, to set at liberty all the Sooliotes who were then in his hands, particularly the young Photos Tzavellas.

When the French, in 1797, took possession of the Ionian Isles, they also became masters of the territories of Venice on the coast of Epirus ; and Ali affected the utmost friendship and consideration for these powerful new neighbours. But when, on account of their expedition to Egypt, the Porte had declared war against them, he made use of the opportunity of attacking and making himself master of Prévesa, (whose inhabitants he massacred in the most barbarous manner,) and of burning Bútrinto, the ancient Buthrotum, and Vónitza. He was preparing, in his zeal for the Porte, to reduce Parga beneath his mild dominion, when the appearance of the Russian and Ottoman fleet saved it from his talons, and Admiral Ocsacoff took possession of it in the name of his imperial master. In consequence of the successes of Ali, the Porte now

sent him the third horsetail, and the title of vizir; and as the French had been the beaten party, the British admiral, Nelson, sent one of his officers to congratulate the *hero of Epirus*—the merciless Ali. It is, however, more than probable, that the Briton knew little of the real character of the Epirote.

The winter of 1798 was spent by Ali in making preparations for the destruction of the Sooliotes, whom he regarded as the greatest obstacles to his ambition. He wrote a circular to all the agas of the neighbourhood, calling on them to aid in the destruction of the impious race of the Sooliotes, before they were attacked by the French and Russians, who were destined to overturn the Ottoman empire. As the Russians now occupied the Ionian Isles, the Mohammedan agas and beys were alive to the danger of their having an ally in the interior of the country; and being greatly struck by the prophetic tone of the vizir's letter, they all repaired to Jannina, and at the end of three months Ali was enabled to march at the head of 12,000 Mussulmans against the tribes of Sooli.

The Sooliotes were completely off their guard, and George Botzaris, the hero of the preceding war, who, either indignant at not being continued in his command, or gained by a bribe of 25,000 piastres offered him by the vizir, had retired from Sooli, with all the families of his phara, in which were 200 men able to bear arms. Undismayed, however, they took to their arms, resolved to defend their lives *and liberty*. On the 2d of June, the troops of *the vizir*, divided into four columns, advanced

on four points, and posted themselves round the mountain of Sooli. Ali himself took his place with the reserve at Lyva, a village halfway between Sooli and Jannina. Photos Tzavellas and Kitzos Botzaris, who commanded the Sooliotes, instead of lying in wait in the defiles, advanced to meet the enemy, and after a severe conflict of seven hours, they drove them from the banks of the Acheron, with a loss of 370 killed, and two pieces of cannon, and a number of muskets. The wounded, who were numerous, also fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss had been inconsiderable.

The vizir was greatly mortified at this repulse; but he still persisted in his resolution, deeming it, however, necessary to employ more troops than he had originally destined for the enterprise. These measures caused some delay; but, on the night of the 8th June, orders were issued to march at break of day to attack the defiles of Sooli.

The troops were taking their repose, preparatory to the toils of the coming morn, when, in the depth of the night, they were roused from their sleep by a volley of musketry. They sprang up, crying, "The Sooliotes! the Sooliotes!" It was in effect the 200 brave Sooliotes who, three days before, had routed the Turks of Zágooris, who, now reinforced by 50 others, and still led by Photos Tzavellas, had fallen on the Albanians. The darkness of the night, combined with the suddenness of the attack, and their terror of the Sooliotes, rendered the Albanians incapable of making any effective defence; some hid themselves, others fought at

random, falling on each other ; and it was not till the dawn of day that they could attempt a retreat in any order. Scarcely had they set out when there came on a furious tempest of hail and wind, which, driving in their faces, impeded their progress, and exposed them to the swords of the Sooliotes. The terrors of superstition were now united with those of the enemy to complete the rout. They fled pell-mell to Lyva, where Ali was waiting, expecting to hear of their success. His presence no longer inspired them with their usual awe ; and they boldly and openly declared, that they would not fight any more against the Sooliotes, who, they said, were not men, but incarnate devils.

Ali, seeing the temper of his soldiers, and unwilling to provoke them by any unseasonable rigour, promised that he would not require them any more to engage the Sooliotes, but only to keep them blocked up by means of forts, which he would have built for that purpose. This assurance quieted them ; and Ali, without loss of time, collecting 3000 masons, made them work night and day till they had raised twelve forts round the mountain, on the points by which the Sooliotes communicated with the surrounding country. The nearest of these forts was within two hours' march of Sooli, the most distant within five. The vizir himself retired to Jannina, leaving his son Mookhtar Pasha to carry on the blockade.

As the autumn approached, the Sooliotes began to feel the pressure of want. They therefore took advantage of dark and stormy nights to pass the line of blockade, and to go through

the country collecting supplies ; and they rarely returned without bringing with them cattle or horses, or men taken from the enemy. Epidemic diseases also afflicted the troops of the vizir ; and Ali, finding how little progress he had made, resolved to have, as usual, recourse to treachery and deceit. He sent to the Sooliotes, offering to put things on the old footing between them and him, provided they would give twenty-four hostages, as a security for their not committing any ravages on his territory. To these terms the Sooliotes readily assented, and they gave the hostages. But the faithless satrap, when he got the hostages into his power, dropped all thoughts of peace, now knowing, that, as it was in his power to put them to death, if he pleased, their relatives would be opposed to the war. A letter from the Sooliotes to this effect undeceived him. " Ali Pasha, as yet we have lost 17 men in defending ourselves against thee. Put to death our hostages, and forty-one victims will have perished for their country. It is worth more, and will not be given at that price."

Again, Ali offered, if they would quit their mountain, to give them, in exchange for it, a fertile district, and 2000 purses of money, or, if they chose, to let them pass over to the Ionian Islands. They thanked him for his offers ; but assured him, that neither their liberty nor their country was to be purchased by gold, and that they would defend them as long as there was a Sooliote alive. Hopeless of bribing the community, *Ali assailed the patriotism of individuals ; and he sent to tell Dimos Drakos, one*

of their chiefs, that if he and his tribe would quit Sooli, he would give him 800 purses. Faithful to his country, Dimos made answer that it was needless to send him all that money, which he was unable so much as to count ; and that even if he was, he would not sell for it a single stone of his country, much less his country itself. His arms, he said, were the only riches and honours that he valued ; his ambition was to defend his natal soil.

Ten months had now elapsed since the blockade had been formed. Disease, desertion, and the sword, had greatly diminished the pasha's army ; but new troops arrived each day to fill up the vacancies. The Sooliotes, on their side, had lost twenty-five men, their provisions were nearly run out, and the surrounding country was quite exhausted. They were reduced to feed upon roots and herbage, and on the bark of trees, pounded up with a little flour. Still no one spoke of surrender ; and, feeble and exhausted as they were, they were always in arms to oppose or to harass the enemy. They contrived to send away about 200 old men, women, and children, who were hospitably received in the Ionian Isles by the Russians. The famine, however, still increased, and it was at length resolved to make an attempt at conveying provisions from Parga. Accordingly, one dark night, a detachment, composed of 413 men and 174 women, descended the mountain, passed the line of blockade, and safely reached Parga, where they were received with the utmost *kindness*. *The Parganotes kept and fed them for four days, and on the fifth morning they*

departed, laden with as much provisions as, in their feeble state, they were able to carry to a distance of twelve leagues, through rough roads, and the camp of the enemy.

When the Sooliotes approached their mountains, they proceeded with the utmost caution. A hundred men, less heavily laden than the rest, went first, to be prepared in case of an attack. This precaution was not needless. Eighteen hundred Albanians were lying in wait; but, daunted by the air of the Sooliotes, they did not venture to move, and the detachment reached the defile in safety. Their arrival was a seasonable relief to the half-famished spectres who awaited them, and the provisions which they brought restored them to some degree of vigour. But this was but transient, and famine soon reappeared among them. Yet it is remarkable, that so far from entertaining any thoughts of surrender, they retained a pride, and even gaiety of humour, suited to the times of their greatest prosperity. Thus, when Ali set a price of five piastres on their heads, their chiefs issued the following proclamation in return:—

“ Ali Pasha rates the heads of the Sooliotes too low. It would appear that he does not know the value of them, and how hard they are to get. *We think that we rate at their just value those of the Turks; and every Sooliote who brings one shall receive a reward of five carriages.*”

Again, the Turks took one day an ass belonging to the Sooliotes, which had strayed within their lines. *The Sooliotes sent to reclaim it, and it was returned, without any ran-*

som being fixed. The Sooliotes having just then taken a Turk, sent him in exchange for the ass, excusing themselves for not having sent the full value of their donkey.

The animosity, however, between the Sooliotes and their besiegers, was not extreme. The army of the vizir was, as we have seen, chiefly composed of volunteers and auxiliaries, whom his arts or their own fanaticism had drawn to his standard, and who in secret dreaded and hated him. The slender success which had as yet attended their operations, and some severities exercised by him against them, made them lend an attentive ear to the representations of Photos Tzavellas and Dimos Drakos, the Sooliote chiefs; and they saw that they were acting against their own interest in contributing to extend the power of Ali, who, as they well knew, would, when eased of his apprehensions from the Sooliotes, turn his arts and his arms against themselves. A league against Ali Pasha was secretly concluded between the Sooliotes, on one part, and Ibrahim, vizir of Berat, Moostafa, pasha of Delvino, Islam Progno, aga of Paramythia, Mahmood of Conispolis, and the beys of Khaimoori, on the other, to make simultaneous war on the vizir of Jannina. The Sooliotes received forty purses from their allies for the purchase of provisions and ammunition, and they made an exchange of hostages. Those of the Sooliotes, in number six, were sent to Delvino. The agas and beys, taking advantage of the absence of Mookhtar Pasha, retired to their homes, and the Sooliotes were left at liberty.

Ali was enraged beyond measure at the news

of this conspiracy against him, and still more, when, in compliance with a treaty concluded between Russia and the Porte, he was obliged to give up the Venetian districts which he had ravished from the French, and which were now formed into a voivodilik, independent of him. On this occasion, we are told,* he summoned to his presence Kanavos, a klephtic chief, to whom he was indebted for his life. "We are alone," said he; "you see my situation, you see the number of my enemies: well, there are but three things in the world that I fear; guess what they are."—"The first, of course, is God."—"Psha! I never feared him."—"Well, then, tell what they are?"—"The first is the Sooliote, Kitzos Botzaris;† the second is Yoosoof bey, the Sultana Valide's kiaya; the third is"—"Whom?"—"Yourself! Your courage and your services make you an object of terror to me."—"My life is in your hands, and you may dispose of it."—"I would tear it from you this moment, were it not for fear of my soldiers; you see how formidable you are to me. Where is your brother-in-law, Paleopoolo?"—"He is returned to Agrapha."—"Do you know any thing of Kitzos Botzaris?"—"He is at the head of the Sooliotes."—"How you all hate me! Desire Paleopoolo to come hither with all his men; you will soon see that Ali is a lighted torch, which blazes like the sun; when he rises, he will disperse the shades." Kanavos retired; wrote to his brother-in-law, informing him of this conversation,

* Pouqueville, I. p. 155.

† More probably *Photos Tzavellas*, as Botzaris had left Sooli.

and desiring him to collect his men, and to be upon his guard. Some nights after, as he was passing through the streets of Jannina, he was wounded in the shoulder by a pistol-ball; he immediately set out for Ætolia, but the pasha had laid an ambush for him, and he and his palicares were all slain. All the klephts of Thessaly, Ætolia, and Acarnania, took arms to avenge the murder of Kanavos; the beys of Sálona also shared in the confederacy, and the Peloponnesian Colocotronis crossed the gulf of Lepanto to join the warriors of Ætolia.

This apparently formidable confederacy gave little apprehension to Ali. By bribery and by artifice he raised up internal enemies to Ibrahim and the agas, and by gaining the governor of the castle of Delvino, he got the Sooliote hostages into his hands, four of whom he immediately hanged; the other two, the brother of Photos Tzavellas, and the son of Dimos Drakos by means of whom he hoped to gain or to intimidate these chiefs, he retained.

When the news of their hostages having fallen into the hands of Ali, and of the death of four of them, reached Sooli, Photos and Dimos assembled the people and their priests. "We gave," said they, "six hostages to the aga of Delvino; they have all fallen into the hands of Ali Pasha; they are all dead,—for such is the fate of every true Sooliote whom he gets into his power. Repeat the prayers of the dead for them all; when we have prayed for the six victims, we will go and avenge their death on the Turks." The prayers were said, and on leaving the church, Photos and his men descended from

of this interval of ease to lay in stores
of ammunition and provisions, and prepare for
an impending conflict.

At this time in Sooli a monk named
called *The Last Judgment*, (ἡ τελευταία
from the words with which he concluded
his discourses. This man was a zealous and
visionary; his only study was the pro-
phets of Scripture, especially the Apo-
calypse in which he fancied he found the most
predictions of the triumphs of Sooli.
Indefatigable in his exhortations to the
people whose toils and dangers he cheerfully
shared and his eloquent discourses wrought
to a high pitch of enthusiasm. To this
the chiefs of the Sooliotes confided the
care of the ammunition and the provisions, and
erected a tower to contain them between Kia-
Sooli, which he named Kioonghi.



young men of great merit, but who found themselves, in consequence of their father's conduct, obliged to continue in the service of the vizir, who now resolved to employ them against their country. Kitzos Botzaris was, therefore, the bearer of two proposals to the Sooliotes, one of which was, that a strong tower should be erected in Sooli, in which Kitzos Botzaris should reside with forty of his men, with power to punish any Sooliote who should commit any ravages in any place belonging to the pashalik of Jannina; the other, that Photos Tzavellas should be obliged to leave Sooli.

It might have been expected that these terms would be rejected by the Sooliotes, who were now well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and whose admiration of the valour of the brave Photos was such, that, "*If I lie, may the sword of Photos cut off my days,*" was become their ordinary asseveration. But they seem to have been weary of everlasting war, and even to have placed some confidence in the words of the vizir, as reported by Botzaris. The chiefs besought Photos to give way for the good of his country. Photos, whose patriotism was pure, and his judgment unclouded, sought in vain to open their eyes. Seeing them immovable, he hastily left the assembly, ran to his house, and set fire to it, and then retired with his family to the village of Khortia, distant about six miles, and beyond the Sooliote territory.

Ali had now obtained the object of his negotiation, in depriving the Sooliotes of the courage and the talent of Photos. He instantly wrote to Botzaris to proceed no farther in the busi-

ness at present, and he wrote at the same time to Photos, exhorting him to come to Jannina, to confer with him on the affairs of Sooli, offering all the securities he could require for his safety. The invitation was accepted by Photos, and he met with a most flattering reception from the crafty vizir, who at once proposed to him to avenge himself on the Sooliotes, by aiding to subdue them. Photos coolly replied, that to do so was no longer in his power. Ali then proposed that he should make all his tribe and his party leave Sooli. Photos, who, from the beginning, was resolved how to act, affected to hesitate, to raise objections, and concluded by agreeing to go to Sooli, and try what he could do to serve the pasha, pledging his word to return to Jannina, and give an account of his success.

Photos set forth, came to Sooli, assembled the people, revealed to them the machinations of the pasha, and was fully believed by them. They implored his pardon for their treatment of him, pledged themselves to rebuild his house for him, to be entirely guided by him, and never again to treat with the pasha, if he would but stay and be their leader as before. Gratified at seeing their ancient spirit rekindled, Photos assured them of his devotion to his country; but his word was pledged, and in spite of their intreaties, he returned to Jannina, where the pasha, aware of the manner in which he had performed his mission, flung him into a dungeon, without hearing or seeing him.

CHAPTER V.

The war against Sooli authorized by the Porte—Treachery of Goosis—Patriotism of Photos Tzavellas—Capitulation of Sooli—Death of Samuel—Treachery of Veli Pasha—Heroism of the Sooliote Women, and of Despo and her Daughters—Dispersion of the Sooliotes.

THE war lingered on till the spring of 1803. Hitherto, the Porte had not authorized the war against the Sooliotes, and Ali had been carrying it on at his own responsibility; but now, taking advantage of some real or pretended communication between them and the French, with whom the Porte was at war, Ali, by his bribes and his representations at the Seraglio, obtained a firman, authorizing him to summon to his standard the forces of all the neighbouring pashas, beys, and tenants of the crown, and attack and destroy the *Jowers* of Sooli. He was, in consequence, enabled to assemble a more numerous and more obedient army than before, which he sent to join that now under his son, Veli Pasha; and the war proceeded with renewed vigour.

The Sooliotes were in want of neither provisions nor ammunition; their courage was as fresh as ever. They harassed and destroyed the besiegers, who suffered, moreover, greatly from disease, who continually were diminished by desertion, and who cursed the madness of Ali in hoping ever to take the impregnable rock of Sooli. The month of September, 1803, saw the Sooliotes victorious and triumphant; but it

was for the last time, and treason accomplished what force could not effect.

There was a man in Sooli named Pilios Goosis, who had one time, in an action with the enemy, turned his back and fled. According to the customs of Sooli, this offence was visited on the wife of the coward, who was not suffered to draw water at the fountain till all the other women had filled their pitchers. This insult, repeated day after day, exasperated the wife of Goosis; and, on her return home, she used to vent her indignation on him who had been the cause of it. Goosis, if so inclined, might have effaced his shame by performing some striking action against the enemy; but he preferred vengeance procured by treason. He secretly sought the quarters of Veli Pasha, accepted his bribes, and arranged with him a plan for the destruction of his country.

On the morning of the 25th September, Veli put all his Albanians in motion, and advanced towards Sooli. They forced the defile, and began to ascend the mountain. The alarm was spread, and the Sooliotes took to their arms; but there were only sixty men at Sooli, and at Kiapha a very small force; the greater part of the men being at Kioonghi with Samuel. The troops of the pasha pushed on direct for Sooli; the handful of men who were there flew to attack them; when suddenly 200 Albanians, whom the traitor Goosis had introduced in the night, and concealed in his house, which stood at the end of the village, rushed forth and fell on their rear, while the troops led by Veli took them in

front. Against such odds, resistance was vain, and Sooli became the prize of the pasha.

Veli now sent some troops against Avarikos, where they met no opposition, the inhabitants having retired to Kiapha. The people of Samoniva had also left their village, so that there were no places remaining to the Sooliotes but Kiapha and Kioonghi; the former defended by a tower and some intrenchments; the latter, strong only by its position on an abrupt rock. These the pasha cannonaded: day after day repeated assaults were made by his troops, and repelled by the brave Sooliotes; and the month of November arrived without the besiegers having made any apparent progress. But famine, the enemy most to be dreaded by the brave, was approaching; their ammunition, too, was running short, and there were no hopes of relief to cheer them.

The distressed state of his country reached the ears of Photos Tzavellas in the dungeons of Jannina. He sent to say to Ali, that if he would let him out of his prison, he would go and make the men of his tribe and party quit Kiapha and Kioonghi, which, when thus weakened, would be unable to hold out any longer. He at the same time offered to leave his wife and children as hostages for his good faith. Ali, wily as he was, caught eagerly at this proposal. Photos hastened to Veli Pasha; informed him of the arrangement which he had made with the vizir; named Parga as the place to which he would lead his partisans, and demanded and obtained a *passport* for them to that place. Photos then entered Kiapha; he assembled the chiefs, told

them what he had done, and how he designed to deceive the pasha. "I promised," said he, "that I and my friends would retire to Parga. Let us send instead of them the aged, the women, and the children. I will demand and obtain hostages for their safety on the way; and once they are safe at Parga, and none but men here, things will take a turn. Our valour will be no longer impeded by pity for our helpless parents and children, and we shall fight as it becomes men who combat for freedom and existence."

His words were received with applause and admiration. All that remained to be done being to induce the Parganotes to receive the fugitives, Photos himself proceeded to Parga for that purpose; it having been previously arranged that nothing should be attempted during his absence.

The Parganotes willingly consented to all that was required of them; but as they would do nothing without the consent of the Russians, who were now masters of Corfu, a message was sent off to the governor of that isle. Unfortunately, the weather was stormy; one, two, three days elapsed, and no answer arrived; a week, ten days, were passed by; the impatient Photos was in an agony of despair. The twelfth morning brought no tidings from Corfu, but it brought those from Kiapha, which put an end to all anxiety about the reply of the Russian commander. Photos set out for Kiapha, and arrived to find that all was lost.

The tribe of *Zervas* had been induced, as was *said*, by a chief named *Kootzonikas* and the

Botzaris, to treat with Veli Pasha, and obtain permission to quit Kiapha; and of the whole tribe, only Dimos Zervas and his near relations had remained, and Kiapha contained now only the friends and partisans of Photos. As these were too few in number to hope to resist with any chance of success, they resolved to abandon it, and retire to Kioonghi, which now contained the last hopes of Sooli. Ali, whose personal courage was not very conspicuous, on learning the state of affairs, hastened to the camp, reproached his son Veli with want of activity, and, collecting 18,000 men, resolved to end the war at one stroke. He previously summoned Photos to surrender; but the undaunted Sooliote replied, that the danger of his wife and children would never make him a coward; that the present condition of his country forbade him to think of them, and that he and his companions would never yield their arms.

It was the Sooliote custom never to wait to be attacked. As soon, therefore, as Photos saw the vizir's troops in motion, he placed himself at the head of 150 men and some women, and advanced to meet them. The fire of the Sooliotes was so rapid, that their guns soon became too hot to be used; and laying them down, they commenced hurling down, from the commanding position which they occupied, large masses of stone on the enemy. The combat lasted seven hours; at the end of which time, the Mussulmans retired, leaving 700 dead on the field of battle, and taking with them thrice that number of wounded. The loss of the Sooliotes, in *this their last victory*, was only eight men and

three women ; fourteen of their number were wounded. Ali, not relishing this specimen of Sooliote valour, returned to Jannina, leaving Veli Pasha to conduct the war as he deemed best.

The war, however, was at its close ; the provisions of the Sooliotes were nearly exhausted, and, to add to their misery, they were now totally destitute of water. After enduring the miseries of thirst for several days, they saw that nothing remained for them, but either to capitulate, or to fall sword in hand on the enemies, and perish, or cut their way through them. Affection for their wives and children at once diverted them from the latter course ; and a capitulation, on condition of being allowed to depart with their families, and as much property as they could carry, was offered to Veli. The pasha accepted the offer with joy, and the capitulation was signed on the 12th December, 1803 (o. s.)

The following morning the Sooliotes departed. They dropt some natural tears at abandoning the graves of their fathers, and the mountains where, during a century and a half, they had lived in independence, and bidden defiance to the Turkish power ; but they were not vanquished, and they still grasped their arms.

Samuel remained with four Sooliotes at Ki-oonghi, to deliver up the place, and the remaining stores, to the Mussulmans. He took his seat on a box full of powder ; two officers, sent to take possession of the fortress, entered. " O monk," said they on entering, " how do you suppose that the vizir will treat you, now that *he has got you into his hands ?*"—" He who

cares as little for life as I do, has little fear of vizirs," replied the monk; and, setting fire to the powder, he blew up himself, the officers, and two of the Sooliotes. The two remaining Sooliotes, who were near the door, were only wounded, and it was they who afterwards related the particulars of this scene.

Two thousand of the Sooliotes, led by Photos Tzavellas, Dimos Drakos, and Tzima Zervas, directed their course for Parga. A thousand others followed Kitzos Botzaris and Kootzonikas to Zalongos, a precipitous mountain, distant about twenty miles to the south, where there was a celebrated monastery and a small village. Others bent their steps towards the village of Regniassa, and others made for Mount Joomerka, intending thence to pass to the mountains of Ætolia.

It was far from being the intention of Veli or his father to adhere to the terms of the capitulation. Ali could never regard himself as the master of Sooli so long as a Sooliote was alive; and the opportunity of attacking and destroying his enemies, while separate, and off their guard, was not to be let slip. Accordingly, Veli, collecting 4000 picked men, sent them in haste after Photos and his detachment. Fortunately, the Sooliotes had marched rapidly, and the greatest part of them had passed the frontiers of Parga, when Veli's troops appeared. Photos, who, with a few men, brought up the rear, were still on the territory of the pasha; *but* there was now no use in attacking him, and *the Sooliotes* all escaped, with only the loss of *a part of their baggage.*

The detachment conducted by Botzaris had arrived at Zalongos, and now deemed themselves in safety ; when, one day, they saw the troops of the pasha approaching—for Veli, enraged at missing his destined prey, had instantly ordered his forces off to the attack of the Sooliotes at Zalongos. The chiefs then perceived their error in having put faith in the promises of the vizir, and resolved to show themselves true patriots in death, if not in life. Chance of escape there was none ; the troops of the pasha were on all sides of them ; they were encumbered by their old men, their women, and children. The Moslems advanced to the charge ; the Sooliotes gallantly met them, and the combat was protracted to the entire length of the day. Night came on, and the conflict ceased. Next morning, it was renewed ; the Sooliotes were fighting with their usual valour, when sixty of their women, aware that all must be finally destroyed, resolved to save at least their honour. They were assembled on a table of rock, one of whose sides rose perpendicularly from a deep rocky valley, through which a mountain-stream rushed, boiling and foaming along. Each was a mother ; each led or carried her child. Their deliberation was short ; seizing their children, they gave them a last kiss, and, with averted faces, flung them into the torrent beneath ;—then, grasping each other by the hand, they placed themselves in a circle as near the edge of the precipice as possible, and commenced an impetuous dance. The first who came to the edge in the whirling motion, flung herself over ; the circle again closed, each revo-

lution diminished the number of the dancers, till at length all had disappeared. All were killed in the fall.

Night closed in, and the Sooliotes still kept their foes at bay. Their food and their cartridges were both exhausted; the night was dark, and they resolved to take advantage of it to attempt escape. Dividing themselves into two parties, and placing the old men, the women, and the children between them, they set forth in silence; the mothers carried their children, and several of the men moved on, the sword in one hand, and a child in the other. They reached the enemies' camp, but found them on their guard; twenty Sooliotes were slain, several more were made prisoners; the rest forced their way, pursued by the Mussulmans. The darkness of the night, and the density of the woods, aided the Sooliotes, and confounded their pursuers. The fugitives separated into small parties, and took different directions; but all availed not to save them; and of from 800 to 900 who left Zalon-gos led by Botzaris, but 150 reached the territory of Parga. The remainder were slain, or taken and brought to Jannina, whence they were transferred to Boorgareli.

Ali next ordered his troops to Regniassa. Here were only women; and they killed or took these as they pleased. One house only made resistance. It belonged to a Sooliote, who was absent; its only occupants were his wife, Despo, and seven of her daughters and daughters-in-law, and three of their children. Arming themselves with muskets, these brave women kept up a fire on the assailants. At length, Despo,

seeing that success was hopeless, placed a chest of cartridges in the middle of the floor, and seized a lighted torch: "Will you die, or be taken by the Turks?" cried she. "Die!" replied they; and she set fire to the powder.

The Sooliotes at Boorgareli were 1010 in number, and they were commanded by Botzaris, who had joined them after leaving Zalongos. It was therefore rather hazardous to attack them. While the pasha deliberated, Botzaris, distrusting the strength of this position, led his Sooliotes away to that part of the mountains of Agrapha where the convent of Seltzon lies over the river Aspropotamos, the ancient Achelous. Mortified at their escape, Ali sought to gain them into his power by arts and flattery; but finding these unavailing, he flung off the mask, and sent 6000 of his best troops against them. Aware of what was likely to happen, the Sooliotes had laid in a supply of provisions and ammunition, and taken their post on one of the most precipitous parts of the mountain. With the beginning of the year 1804, the pasha's troops arrived; and in April, the Sooliotes still held out. Ali, in a rage, wrote to reproach his officers with cowardice; they renewed their efforts; the Sooliotes were surrounded and cut off from the monastery; fortune turned against them, and their men fell by dozens. The women, who from the top of the monastery viewed the combat, and the fall of their defenders, flew to precipitate themselves into the Aspropotamos. Some reached the edge of the cliffs, and accomplished *their desire*, the rest were intercepted by a corps of the Turks; they defended them-

selves with sticks, stones, and knives ; many of them were slain, 160 reached the cliffs, and flung themselves and their children into the stream. Of the 1000 Sooliotes who left Boorgareli, only Botzaris himself, 55 men, and one woman, escaped and retired to Parga.

Ali now hastened to take possession of Sooli. His abode there, and his return to Jannina, were signalized by the martyrdom of the unfortunate Sooliotes who had fallen into his hands ; till, wearied with slaughter, he suffered a few families of them to live in some wild remote parts of his territories.

Seventeen hundred Sooliotes, of both sexes, passed over to Corfu, where the Russians assigned them lands. But, after their former active life in the mountains, where they ever moved with arms in their hands, and plundered the surrounding low country, they could not lay themselves down to the quiet, peaceful labours of agriculture. They stole the goats and fowls of the Corfiote nobles ; their wives destroyed the fences of the fields, and carried the wood to the town to sell it, while their husbands employed their time in furbishing their arms and playing on the lyre. Complaints against them were incessant, and the only remedy which the Russians saw, was to form a regiment of them, which they took into their pay. It is remarkable that, brave as the Sooliotes were, their regiment never distinguished itself anywhere that it was employed. It was in a system of *irregular warfare* that they had been bred, and they *could not* adapt themselves to the regular *movements of civilized war*.

CHAPTER VI.

Extension of the Power of Ali Pasha—Slight Insurrectionary movement—Thessaly—Ali makes War on Ibrahim of Berat—Relations with Ali cultivated by the British—His attempt on Parga—It is given up to him by the English Government—Reflections thereon.

ALI now rapidly extended his power: he was already lord of Epirus and Thessaly; he proceeded to make himself master of all Hellas, except Boeotia and Attica, of which his influence had made one of his creatures be appointed voivode, and this officer fixed his seat at Athens. The activity and the barbarity of his lieutenant, Yoosoof Arab, were employed in extending his power over Acarnania and Ætolia; and when, in 1806, war broke out between the Porte and Russia, the influence of the French ambassador at Constantinople aided to have Veli appointed vizir of the Morea, and Mookhtar pasha of Lépanto. Ali resolved to employ his power solely for his own advantage, and instead of sending his troops to combat the Russians on the Danube, he turned his forces against Prevesa, from which he drove the sultan's voivode, and nothing but the prompt succour of the Russians saved Parga from falling into his clutches.

It is not undeserving of attention, that the Greeks at this period showed no inclination to stir. They had, in fact, been very much deceived with respect to the views and the conduct of Russia. Unacquainted with political

movements, and led, from their peculiar situation, to regard religion as the thing of greatest importance, they were shocked to see the nation who were of common faith with them, and whom tradition held forth as their appointed deliverers, postponing religion to political interests, and entering into alliance with the Porte when Egypt was invaded by the French. Hence, all attempts made at that time to rouse them proved utterly abortive; for they saw but too plainly, that Russia, to attain her own objects, would not hesitate to sacrifice them. A similar feeling actuated them on the present occasion, and though Veli Pasha harassed the Moreotes by his extortions, his tolerance gained him favour in their eyes; for he not merely suffered the old churches to be repaired, but he allowed new ones to be erected, and the Greek clergy enjoyed a degree of influence at his court, far beyond what they had ever before possessed.

Ali had now established close relations with the English, who were at war with the sultan; he had marched his troops down to the sea-coast, and was apparently about to undertake something of importance, when news reached him of an insurrection in Thessaly, and he was obliged to return to Jannina.

Euthymus Blakhavas, captain of the armatoles of the canton of Cachia, in Thessaly, raised, at the head of 1200 men, his standard on Mount Olympus, and proclaimed *Liberty and our Country!* But as no mention was made of the *Russians*, Ali felt little concerned. His son Mookhtar fell on the villages, and slaughtered the peasants, and Gabriel, archbishop of Larissa, preach-

ed peace and resignation to the people, by command of the vizir. The great majority of the people, therefore, remained quiet, and Blakhavas soon saw himself compelled to transfer his quarters to the isle of Sciathos, whence he infested the Archipelago with his piracy. Two Turkish frigates being sent against him, he was obliged to retire to the chains of Mount Pindus, and parties of both Greek and Mohammedan marauders soon spread terror and destruction over the low country. Ali sent orders to his son to try the effects of bribery and promises, since force did not suffice, and Blakhavas was soon deserted by his confederates. He might have escaped in the islands, it is said, but the pasha menacing the destruction of some of his Christian friends if he did not give himself up, he returned to the continent on receiving an assurance of his life from Mookhtar. He knew well, however, what awaited him. "I am going to die," said he to his friends; "I know the faith of the Turks. Reserve your arms for happier times; fly." He was conducted to Jannina, and there put to death with torture. Blakhavas was the last of the great *armatole* chiefs of Thessaly.

The Vizir Ali, taking advantage of the feebleness of the Turkish government after the death of the excellent Selim III., in whose dethronement he is accused of having had some hand, went on extending his power over the remainder of Albania; and he had the hardihood to make war on Ibrahim, the vizir of Berat, the father-in-law of his sons Mookhtar and Veli, and never rested till he had shut up that unhappy vizir and his son in the dungeons of Jan-

nina. Ali's pretext to the Porte for attacking Ibrahim was, that the latter was strongly in the French interest. The Sultan at first expressed indignation at this daring act, but did not at that time feel himself in a condition to attempt punishing it, and he actually gave a sanction to it shortly afterwards, by appointing Mookhtar begler-bey of Berat. This was, however, but a part of the crowning of the victim; for the destruction of Ali and his family was secretly resolved on in the divan, and a favourable opportunity only looked for.

The occupation of the Ionian Isles by the French, had made the English direct their attention towards that quarter, and the troops sent from Malta had wrested from the French the isles south of Corfu. The powerful viceroy of Epirus acquired from his situation a good deal of importance, and intimate relations were established between him and the British, who supplied him with cannon, ammunition, Congreve rockets, and money. Whether it was the object of the British Government merely to have in him a useful ally against the French in Corfu,—or whether it was in contemplation to assist him in becoming effectually, though not nominally, independent of the Porte, and of thus counterbalancing the influence obtained by Russia, with whom England was then at enmity, in the provinces north of the Danube,—or whatever might have been the motive, a close connexion was maintained with the Epirotic tyrant. Jannina became the resort of British officers and travellers; and the British public learned, from poems and books of travels, to

view with an eye of complacency the most detestable of despots.

Parga, situated on the continent, and independent of him, was an eye-sore to the vizir of Iannina ; but it was garrisoned by the French, and he despaired of being able to make himself master of it by force. In 1814, when fortune was running against Napoleon, Ali, with the advice and approbation of Khalet-effendi, a favourite of the sultan, attempted to carry it by a *coup de main*. But his troops were repulsed by the valour of a handful of French who defended it ; and Ali, learning that the Parganotes were not his slaves, uttered, with a sigh, *Fate will have it so ! (Kismot ijel gheldi.)* A few days afterwards, he summoned to his presence the French consul, (M. Pouqueville,) and his brother. He affected the greatest consideration for them ; detailed to them the pleasure and the happiness of his early youth ; lamented that those days would never return ; and avowed, that he saw, at *the other end of life*, nothing but uneasiness and misery. The conclusion of his discourse was, that the possession of Parga was essential to his existence. The consul represented to him, that his desire was contrary to his true interests ; that, if once he was master of Epirus, his restless ambition would drive him on to some new enterprise, which would bring on his ruin ; and that, perhaps, the most dreadful calamities of himself and his family would date from the possession of Parga. " I defy the omen," said he. " Let me but build a palace on that rock, and I am consoled for every thing. Each man bears impressed on

his forehead the irrevocable seal of his destiny, and what is written must necessarily come to pass. I will have Parga!"—"Dread being master of Parga."—"I will have Parga!" and he raised his eyes to heaven with a sigh.*

It was not by the French, however, that the longing of the vizir was to be gratified. After the restoration of the Bourbons, the island of Corfu was given up by France, and the republic of the Seven Islands was placed under the protection (properly called dominion) of England.† Parga, shortly after the attack of Ali on it, had been put by the inhabitants into the hands of the British, on the assurance that it should *share the fate of the Ionian Isles*.‡ General Campbell, who had made this promise, had been succeeded by Sir T. Maitland, under

* Pouqueville, I. 420, 421. The reality of this conversation rests entirely on the veracity of the narrator.

† The history of the Ionian Islands may be briefly told. At the time of the conquest of the Greek empire by the Venetians and the crusaders, they fell to Venice, under whose dominion they continued till 1797, when, by the peace of Campo Formio, they were surrendered to France. In 1800, the French were driven out of them by the joint strength of the Porte and Russia; the islands were formed into a republic, similar to Ragusa, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and it was recognised by Great Britain. The French afterwards recovered their dominion over them. In 1815, the Ionian Islands were recognised by the allied powers as a free and independent state, under the protection of Great Britain.

‡ Pouqueville, I. 435. For the whole of the transactions relative to Parga, see the work of Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosset, called "Parga and the Ionian Islands;" a work whose statements are, we apprehend, irrefutable.

the title of Lord High Commissioner;* and the Parganotes, finding that they had been neglected in the treaty of Paris, and that Ali Pasha was urgent in his demand of their town being given up to him, they, on the 25th of December, 1816, addressed a respectful petition to the Lord High Commissioner, praying that he would cover them with the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Three months elapsed without any answer being returned; and the Parganotes were beginning to consider themselves quite secure, when, on the 24th March, 1817, a letter arrived from the Lord High Commissioner to Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosset, who commanded at Parga, informing him that the cession of that town and its territory to the Ottoman Porte had been concluded and signed by the British minister at Constantinople. It was added, that care had been taken to secure for such of the Parganotes as might wish to emigrate, an equivalent for their houses and property, and that they should be transported to the Ionian states, without any expense to them.

It is to be observed, that Russia, when she had made herself mistress of the Ionian Islands, and the districts of Epirus taken from Venice by France, had formed them into a republic, by a treaty concluded with the Porte the 21st March, 1800. The districts on the mainland,

* The name of Sir T. Maitland will go down with little credit to posterity. The rudeness and insolence of his manners gave on all occasions additional bitterness to the harsh *measures*, of which he was the author or the *agent*.

namely, Prevesa, Vonitza, Parga, and Butrinto, were placed under the sovereignty of the Porte; but it was expressly stipulated, that no Mohammedan should settle in any of them, except a voivode to levy the taxes laid on by the senate of Corfu, and to remit them to the Porte; that this voivode should be approved of by the Ionian senate, and be removable at their desire; that the Turks should build no mosques in any of the four cantons, &c. We have seen above how openly this treaty was trampled on by Ali Pasha, whose avidity Parga alone had as yet escaped.

Had the cession of Parga, by the British government, been only the fulfilment of this treaty, as the Parganotes were at first inclined to think was the case, there would have been no grounds whatever for complaint, and it would have been a natural consequence that Prevesa, Vonitza, and Butrinto, would have been rescued from the tyranny of Ali, and restored to the independence secured to them by treaty. But no such justice or generosity entered into the contemplation of a ministry of which Castlereagh was the moving power; Parga was to be reunited to its fellow-cantons, but it was by being placed under the same unmitigated despotism with them. Grieved and indignant at the treachery, as they justly considered it, of those who had pledged themselves to be their protectors, the Parganotes resolved to abandon their country. Mr Cartwright, the British consul at Patras, accompanied by Mr Parish, proceeded to *Janina*, to settle with Hamed bey, the Turkish commissioner, the sum to be paid to the emi-

grants for the property which they left behind them. This property was, by the estimation, valued at nearly L.500,000 ; but Ali, inviting Sir T. Maitland to a conference at Prevesa, and complaining of the exorbitance of it, the latter most complaisantly consented to a new valuation of Parga, by other commissioners, by whom it was estimated at L.266,756 ; a wonderful degree of accuracy, no doubt ! This sum was still too large for the avaricious vizir to think of paying ; and at a conference held at Butrinto, the generous Lord High Commissioner, after a third valuation, agreed to reduce it to L.150,000, and a proclamation was issued, ordering the people of Parga to quit Epirus by the 10th May.

Murmur and remonstrance being equally vain, the Parganotes prepared to leave their country, and the tombs of their fathers. Two days before the term assigned, the troops of the impatient vizir were descried on the heights of Mount Pezzovolos ; the Parganotes grasped their arms, and passed an unanimous resolution to kill their wives, and die in avenging them, if the infidels presumed to enter the town before the appointed moment, and the English commander was desired to dispatch a messenger to inform Sir T. Maitland of their resolution. Meantime the Parganotes ascended to the church of the Virgin of Parga, on the Acropolis, to pray for her aid. A voice from the temple cried out that the tombs of their forefathers had not been included in the sale. Immediately they ran to their burial-places, opened the graves, collected the mouldering *bodies*, and the bones of the *dead*, *formed a pyre*, and placed them on it, and

then set fire to the heap containing all that remained of their ancestors and relatives.*

The messenger sent to Corfu returned as the pyre was flaming ; the sight of it, as he knew not the cause, filled him with anxiety. As he landed, the clergy and the chief persons of the place advanced to meet him, and assured him, that they were ready to do as they had said, if the pasha's troops were allowed to enter. He hastened to the Mohammedans, told them of the determination of the Parganotes, and they readily consented to a little delay, sooner than encounter the despair of the people. On the morning of the 10th May the embarkation commenced, and with the fondness which the people of small states always feel for the land of their birth, the exiles bade a mournful adieu to Parga. Some carried away, in little bags, handfuls of the ashes of their sires, gathered from the pyre ; others handfuls of the earth of Parga ; others shells and pebbles collected on the strand. The morning breeze wafted them away from Parga as the troops of Ali entered it in triumph.

On their arrival in Corfu, the Ionian senate confirmed to them the title of citizens of the Ionic Isles, a rank which they had enjoyed for centuries ; and the Lord High Commissioner informed them, that as he had agreed with Ali Pasha to be paid in Spanish instead of Turkish money, that would cause a diminution of the sum which they were to receive ; and that, farther, there would be a reduction of one per cent

* *We cannot undertake to vouch for the accuracy of all these details, our authority being M. de Pouqueville.*

for the freight of the Ganymede frigate, which brought the money to Corfu, and for the cost of the negotiations. The Parganotes felt disposed at first indignantly to reject any indemnity. Their necessities, however, obliged them to accept it the following winter. The one per cent had been remitted to them, they were told, by the generosity of the King of England.

It was thus, that, in compliance with the dictates of a false and narrow policy, 4000 happy and industrious Christian Greeks were forced to abandon their homes, their natal soil, the scenes of their childhood, and the tombs of their fathers, and to see them in the hands of the enemies of their faith, and the oppressors of their race.* Politicians may scoff at these *imaginary* miseries, and ask, Were not the Parganotes indemnified for their losses?—as if there are not feelings and enjoyments for the deprivation of which money never can compensate. And what right had the British government to sell Parga and her territory? And what but disgrace has been gained by the scandalous transaction? The vain project of strengthening the Porte has been completely frustrated, and the folly of its advisers manifested to the world.

* M. de Pouqueville, I. 454, gives a Greek poem by Xenocles, called “The Last Song of Parga, (Ἰστορικὸν ᾠδὴν τῆς Πάργας,) which strongly expresses the feelings with which the Parganotes abandoned their country. “O! thunders,” cries the poet—

“O! thunders of the heaven above and of eternal justice,
Descend and strike Ali Pasha, and the accursed English,
That tyrants, trembling, may behold how God supreme doth
punish!”

But it was only of a piece with many of the transactions of the time, when those who had overturned the throne of a despot, followed the path of self interest as openly, and deprived princes and people of their rights and independence as unblushingly, as ever he had done. Political sophistry and falsehood may, as they have already done, seek to gloss over, or defend, this act of the British government; but the general feeling and general voice of mankind, from which there is no appeal, have stamped the transaction with the note of infamy.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Greece—Philomuse Society—the Hetairia—Galatis the Hetairist—Prophecies—Murder of Galatis—Progress of the Hetairia—Alexander Hypsilántis—his interview with the Emperor of Russia—he joins the Hetairia.

WHILE the tyrant of Epirus was thus gradually extending his power by treachery and cruelty,—the usual expedients of despotism,—and had, perhaps, already in idea stretched his delegated sceptre over the entire of Greece, the Hellenes were, unobserved by their stupid oppressors, acquiring the means of conquering their freedom, and learning to aspire after it.

The effects of the French revolution were felt even in Greece, and many of her patriots *turned their eyes towards the new republic, as the point from which her regeneration was to*

come.* The insecurity of the Mediterranean, in consequence of the wars in which France was speedily engaged, threw the greater part of the commerce of France and Italy with the ports of Turkey and southern Russia, into the hands of the Greeks; and the enterprising mariners and shipowners of the isles of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara, became the general carriers of the commerce of the Mediterranean, and the Greek sail was seen, for the first time probably since the creation, to be spread beyond the straits of Gades. Commerce brought wealth to the isles and coasts of the Archipelago, and wealth excited the desire of knowledge. Schools and colleges were established at Scio, Smyrna, Cydonia, and other places, under the auspices of the too enlightened Selim III.; and even Ali Pasha favoured the establishment of a school at Jannina, hoping to be able to turn the scientific acquirements of the pupils to his own advantage. Numerous Greek students resorted for instruction to France and Germany, and many translations and original works of the modern Greek language proceeded from the presses of Paris, Leipzig, Vienna, and Venice. The learned Coray, the imprudent and unhappy Rhigas, and many others, both in verse and prose, sought to fan the flame of patriotism in the minds of their countrymen; and as the young Greeks studied in the schools the exploits and fortunes of those whom they regard-

* Soutzo, p. 8, gives a letter of Bonaparte, in reply to one from the chief of the *Maniotes*. It is not dated, but it was evidently written during the time of his first command in Italy.

ed as their ancestors, they burned to emulate their deeds, and drive, like them, the Asiatic tyrant-slaves from the sacred soil of Hellas. Their enthusiasm was farther inflamed by the reports of the happiness and security to be enjoyed under just and moderate governments spread among them by their countrymen, who returned after an abode in western Europe; and the flourishing condition of the Ionian Islands, which were under their eyes, testified that the tongue of fame spoke true.

Such was the state of Hellas at the memorable period of the overthrow of the French empire. She had comparative wealth, an extensive marine, skilful and enterprising mariners, and, in the various bands of klephts, a daring soldiery. She was at the same time galled by the tyranny and exactions of her Mussulman oppressors; and the feebleness of the Ottoman power had been demonstrated to her by the victories of the Russians, of Pasvend-ogloo, the rebel pasha of Viddin, and of the Servian, Czer-ni Georges. Greece was therefore full of hope, of courage, and of expectation.

In the year 1814, a society called the Philomuses, composed of Greeks and of eminent foreigners, was formed at Vienna, under the patronage, it is said,* of the Holy Alliance, at the instance of Count Capo-d'Istrias. The object of this society was to form a fund for educating young Greeks of talent in the best universities of Europe, in order that, on their return to their own country, they might, by oc-

* Soutzo, p. 12.

cupying professorial chairs in the places of instruction, diffuse the valuable knowledge which they had acquired. A gradual regeneration of Greece, by means of an opening and enlarging of the public mind, was what was contemplated by the benevolent society of the Philomuses, and they looked forward to Hellas becoming free, when her sons should have acquired the character of freemen;—a vain and idle dream of Utopia! and utterly at variance with the history of the world, which says, that there is a period of transition at which the slave is sufficiently enlightened to feel his bonds intolerable, and sufficiently strong to shake them off; but still too little accustomed to self-direction to enter at once into full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, too little used to her beams to bear their strong effulgence without pain. It was thus that some well-meaning and benevolent opponents of the claims of the Irish Catholics cried, “Emancipate yourselves from your priests, (*i. e.* become Protestants,) and we will most cheerfully give you political emancipation!”—ignorant that what they would place last, must of necessity precede.

As was to be expected, a more bold and energetic association soon sprung from the bosom of that of the benevolent Philomuses. This was the celebrated Hetairia,* a society whose objects were purely political; who aimed at extinguishing all partial dissensions among the Greeks, and of uniting the whole nation against the common enemy.†

* Ἡ ἑταιρεία φιλική, *the Friendly Society.*

† *The following account of the Hetairia is derived al-*

Two Greeks of low rank, named Skoofas and Xanthos, and Dikaïos, an archimandrite, all men of courage and talent, resolved to play, if possible, a distinguished part in the deliverance of their country; and they formed the secret society of the Hetairia. They represented to their proselytes that the society of the Philomuses was only a branch of theirs, and that, consequently, all the distinguished personages who were known to belong to the former were prime movers of the latter. It was also secretly intimated, that its real and superior head was the Emperor of Russia. Each member was bound to devote his talents and his fortune to the good cause, and, on his admission, to contribute towards the national funds. The seal of the society had on it several A's, with a K and a Σ in the centre. The first letter was generally taken to stand for Alexander, the second for Capo-d'Istrias, and the last for the Holy Alliance (Συμμαχία ἱερὰ.) The agents of the society were spread over the entire Ottoman empire, and the number of its members was rapidly augmented. To give greater effect to the form of reception, it always took place in a chapel, before a picture of the Resurrection; and the priest who officiated made the aspirant swear on his knees the most profound secrecy, and most absolute obedience.

most exclusively from the work of Soutzo, who seems to have had better means of being acquainted with it than any of the other writers on the Greek revolution. The reader will find a minute account of this society, its modes of admission, catechism, &c. from a Greek MS. in Waddington's Visit to Greece.

A form of fraternization called Adelphopœsis (*brother-making*) had long been in use in Greece. It was not, strictly speaking, of a religious nature, since the Greeks and the Mohammedan Albanians were in the habit of uniting themselves in its sacred bands. Arrayed in their best garments, the future brothers presented themselves before the altar of God, exchanged their arms, and clasped the hands of each other; and then, embracing, they repeated these words:—"Thy life is my life, and thy soul is my soul." So strong was the obligation imposed by this ceremony, that a Greek would often leave his family to the care of his Albanian brother, and pass weeks from home, engaged in the labours of agriculture, and, on returning, find no reason to complain of the faith of his friend.

The Hetairists appropriated to themselves this institution; but the nature of their union demanding the exclusion of Mohammedans, they refused to admit them. The Adelphopœsis became the first degree in their order.

Towards the end of 1815, the three heads of the society held a consultation in Constantinople, where it was arranged, that, for fear of discovery, they should not attempt to gain any members to it in the capital; but that they should remain there themselves, and select the ablest agents to send as their missionaries to foreign countries, and intrust them with full powers to act for the good of the common cause. Accordingly, a young man, a native of Ithaca, named Galatis, whose patriotism was most ardent, and his *penetration* most extraordinary, *was selected for the mission to Russia.* Unfor-

tunately, as is too frequently the case with a Greek, his discretion did not correspond to his other qualities.

Galatis, wearing the English uniform, landed at Odessa in 1816. He immediately sought out the principal merchants; sounded their dispositions; discovered himself to them, reasoned, wept, and succeeded in making many ardent proselytes. At St Petersburg he proceeded in the same manner, and speedily drew on himself the attention of the police, who arrested him and his two companions, Argyropoulos and Perevos. His papers were seized and examined by General Gorgoli, the chief of the police, and the object of his mission discovered, and communicated to the emperor. An order was, however, instantly issued for their liberation, and twenty ducats each presented to Argyropoulos and Perevos. Galatis went thence to Yassy in Moldavia, where, hearing one day that he was enquired after by the Russian consul, he gave himself up for lost; but on his going to that minister, he was, to his great surprise, presented by him with 5000 francs on the part of the emperor. He forthwith traversed Valachia and Transylvania, endeavouring to gain to the Hetairia every man whom he thought likely to be of use in the great work of liberating Greece. The person of greatest importance whom he associated to the Hetairia, was Athanasius Tsacalof, the son of a rich merchant of Moscow, who entered with the utmost zeal into the plans of the society; and, leaving parents and property, repaired without delay to Constantinople, in order to devote himself to the cause of

his country. Him the heads of the society fixed on as their agent for organizing Greece; and in the beginning of 1817, they directed him to proceed to the Morea.

The Greeks were just now in that state of imperfect knowledge which leads men to put faith in supposed predictions and revelations, more especially when they are in accordance with their hopes and wishes. A monk of Mount Athos had deduced from the Apocalypse a confirmation of a tradition long current, that the Ottoman power would be overturned by a fair-haired race, who would descend from the North, and a book of prophecy, named the Agathangelos, had fixed the event for the commencement of the nineteenth century. It was farther a tradition, that the city of Constantinople, founded by one Constantine, lost by another, would be reconquered by a third, who could be no other than the Russian Grand Duke of that name, whom his grandmother, Catherine II., had had thus named, when she proudly anticipated the conquest of Byzantium. Though more than once most cruelly deceived in their hopes, the Greeks still fondly clung to the idea that the Russian autocrat was their destined deliverer. Accordingly, when Tsacalof gave himself out to be an emissary of that monarch, he was enabled to spread the Hetairia with the greatest rapidity among the primates, the sailors, and the klephts.

Meanwhile, the extreme imprudence of Galatis gave considerable disquietude to the heads of the society, and they came to the barbarous resolution of *sacrificing him to what they deemed the public good.* They accordingly directed him

to join Tsacalof, to whom they, at the same time, gave secret orders to put him out of the way. Tsacalof shrunk from the task of imbruing his hands in the blood of his friend; but he communicated the order to his disciples, who felt no scruples to obey it. They received their unsuspecting victim with open arms, were lavish of caresses to him, and one day taking him through the country, led him over hill and vale, till they reached a spreading plane-tree, where they sat down to rest; and while the unhappy Galatis, stretched on the grass, was singing a patriotic hymn, one of them discharged a blunderbuss at his back, and he expired, crying, "What have I done?"—words which a friend is said to have afterwards cut on the bark of the plane-tree, beneath which his ashes repose.

After the death of Galatis, a man named Anagnostópoulos became of some importance in the Hetairia, to which he gained Theodore Negris, the secretary of Charles Callamachis, the hospodar of Moldavia; but quarrelling with two other Hetairists, he retired from action, and his rivals, aided by an old man named Andronicos, spread it at Yassy and through Bessarabia. The three chiefs of the society now deemed it incumbent on them to exert themselves with a little more activity than hitherto. Skoofas set out for Russia, Dikaïos went to join Tsacalof in the Morea: Xanthos remained at Constantinople to gain the princes of the Fanar; but he was timid, and devoted to pleasure, so that the chief part of his duties fell to an active, turbulent priest, named Papa Georges, who haunted the bazaars, the taverns, and every part of the

city, heedless of danger, though the plague was then raging; and, in the short space of two months, he raised the number of the initiated to 15,000, of whom, however, the far greater part were persons of no importance—bakers, boatmen, porters, and such like.

In the following year, 1816, the number of *Hetairists* was become so great that it was deemed advisable to establish Ephorias, or committees, in all the chief towns of the Ottoman dominions, and every place where there were Greeks residing. Each Ephoria was to have its own separate funds, and full power to act independently; but it was to keep up a constant correspondence with that stationed at Constantinople, from which all the ultimate decisions were to emanate. The members were to be chosen from among the leading merchants and bankers in each place, and they were enjoined to exert all their address to have access to the offices of the Turkish government, and to spy out its movements.

In the course of the year 1818, Ephorias were established in Smyrna, Chios, Samos, Mesolonghi, Calamata, Jannina, Bukharest, Yassy, Trieste, Moscow, Pest, and other towns; and most of the men who afterwards distinguished themselves, such as Mark Botzaris, George of Olympus, Kyriakoolis, Mavromichalis, Criesis, Salvas, Coondooriotis, and a number of prelates and princes of the Fanar, were among the *Hetairists*.

It was at this period that Alexander Hypsilántis and his brother Nicholas became members of the *Hetairia*. They were the sons of Con-

stantine Hypsilántis, formerly hospodar of Valachia, who had died at Kiev in 1816. Alexander, who was his eldest son, had entered the Russian service in 1809. He was a major of hussars at the battle of Dresden, where he lost his right hand, and the emperor Alexander shortly afterwards promoted him to the rank of colonel, and made him his aide-de-camp. He and his brother were on their way from Kiev to Kishenoff, when they stopped at the house of their brother-in-law, Constantine Catacazis, the governor of Bessarabia. Gabriel, the brother of their host, a zealous Hetairist, happened to arrive there a few days afterwards, and knowing the patriotism of Nicholas Hypsilántis, he took him apart one night, and began to picture to him, in lively colours, the wretched state of their country. The moon was sitting, calm and bright, in the unclouded sky; all nature lay still and in repose around them; the contrast which they presented to the images evoked by the voice of his companion gave them double vividness, and the young patriot burst into tears. While he was in this mood, Catacazis ventured to reveal to him the secret of the Hetairia. Nicholas instantly declared his readiness to become one of its members, and Catacazis presented him with the *catechism* of the institution. Nicholas essayed in the morning to gain over his brother; but Alexander, after running over the catechism, expressed no inclination to have any thing to do with it.

Some time afterwards, it is said, A. Hypsilántis, meeting some Greeks going to St Petersburg to engage in the service of the emperor,

told them to reserve their arms for the service of their country, adding that Russia was too great to think of them. They replied, that when they were at home in Macedonia, a Russian consul had told them that the emperor was at the head of the Hetairia. Hypsilántis assured them that this was false. They deplored the fate of their country : he said, she would be free when they resolved it. They pictured to him the enthusiasm of the Greeks, and asked him why he did not place himself at the head of the Hetairia ? He answered by giving them a copy of a letter from Count Capo d'Istrias to a professor, on the subject of the Hetairists, in which that statesman declared, that they were urging the nation to the brink of a precipice. They declared that it was now too late to recede. Hypsilántis asked where were their finances, their armies, their generals, and if they thought that the resurrection of a nation would be accomplished by miracle ? " Friends," said he, in conclusion, " my advice to you, as your countryman, is to reckon on your own resources alone, and to prepare for your defence before you rouse the tiger who is asleep. If at any time you feel yourself in a condition to dispute your natal soil with the tyrants, then think of Hypsilántis. One of my hands fell beneath the walls of Dresden, the other I reserve for my country."

The leading Hetairists perceived, that in consequence of the peace which prevailed throughout Europe, and the freedom of navigation resulting from it, the commerce of the Greeks no longer enjoyed the advantages to which it owed *its origin*, and that their marine was gradually

decaying ; that the Turks, now grown suspicious, were become inimical to the education of the people, and were beginning to look more closely to them. They were also harassed by the enquiries and complaints of a number of the members of their society, who accused them of turning the public funds to their own use, and pressed them to give an account of what they had done in their capacity of heads of the society. They, therefore, came to a resolution of getting rid of the responsibility, by throwing the weight of it upon some man of importance, whose name would be a security to the nation. They first thought of old Prince Carajas, or of Constantine Moóroosis, or A. Mavrocórdatos—but none of these was believed to possess the requisite qualifications. One of the Macedonians, who had held the conversation just mentioned with A. Hypsilántis, pronounced his name ; another voice spoke of Capo d'Istrias, praising his diplomatic powers. The assembly was divided ; Xanthos, who had been hitherto silent, rose, and saying that the nation required statesmen as well as warriors, proposed that Anagnostopoolos and Tsacalof should sail over to Italy, and engage the archbishop Ignatius to try and prevail on his friend Capo d'Istrias to undertake the direction of the Hetairia. "For myself," said Xanthos, "I will go to St Petersburg, and knock at the door of Capo d'Istrias and of Hypsilántis, and to whichever of them opens to me, I will deliver our papers, our accounts, and the title of our chief."

Xanthos, on his arrival at St Petersburg, went straight to the house of Capo d'Istrias ; but that

minister, to whom he had been represented as a man utterly devoid of patriotism, refused to hear him, and ordered him never more to set foot in his house. Repulsed in this quarter, Xanthos applied himself to gain the most intimate friends of Hypsilántis; and when he obtained an interview with him, he did not, while he solicited him to become the chief of the Hetairia, conceal from him its real state, and the insufficiency of its means. Hypsilántis, before he would yield his consent to what was required of him, resolved to sound the disposition of the emperor, who, he knew, was not insensible to the miseries of the Greeks, and regarded their tyrants as barbarians who should be expelled from Europe.

The emperor, about to proceed to Warsaw, and thence to Laybach, was at that time in the country, at his gardens of Tzarski Celo. Hypsilántis proceeded thither, under the pretext of asking for leave of absence. As he was one evening strolling through the garden walks in hopes of finding the emperor alone, he heard his name called; he turned round, and saw the emperor approaching. "What are you doing here?" said he; "you seem melancholy." Hypsilántis, showing him a leaf which he held in his hand, began to repeat the elegy, by M. Arnault, which commences thus—

Pauvre feuille desséchée,
De ta tige détachée,
Où vas-tu ?

The tsar asked whose were these verses. Hypsilántis replied *that they were a Frenchman's; but were applicable to those unfortunate Greeks,*

who were wandering from their country, and dying in a foreign soil. Alexander assured him that he should not die content till he had done something for his poor Greeks, and that he was only waiting for a sign from Heaven for that purpose; but that they must previously qualify themselves for happiness, so that he might be able to say, "See, they call for liberty!"—"Sire, they *do* call for it; I lay their desires at your feet."—"I must think of it; a bullet fired on the Danube would set all Europe on fire." Laying his mouth to the emperor's shoulder, Hypsilántis said, "Ah! if you cast but one glance on my unhappy country."—"Let the bucklers be once raised in Greece, and my Cossacks shall be there to second them."*

Satisfied of the good intentions of the tsar towards Greece, Hypsilántis decided on accepting the perilous post which was offered to him; but only on the express condition, that the time of the insurrection should be retarded till he had been able to make all the necessary preparations. He then wrote to all the Ephorias, recommending activity, prudence, and patriotism; and he visited in person all the principal towns of Russia, collecting the contributions of the Hetairists to the cause of their country. He set the example of liberality himself, by devoting a sum

* M. Soutzo says, that a portion of these details is taken from a letter addressed by A. Hypsilántis to the emperor Nicholas, but seven days before his death. The sentimental anecdote, related above, is sufficiently in the character of the emperor Alexander to be true. A. Hypsilántis was a poet himself. M. Soutzo gives a specimen of his Greek verses.

of L.20,000 to that purpose ; his sister, Maria, placed in his hands, for the service of their country, her dower of L.15,000 ; and the Princess Maria Mavrocordatos gave L.2000, and a pair of most valuable ear-rings. Hypsilántis established a regular correspondence with Jacob Rhizos, the secretary of Michael Soutzo, the hospodar of Moldavia ; and he even gained this prince to enter into his views. On an islet of the Danube, near Ismaël, he held a secret conference with the archimandrite Dikaïos, who communicated to him the plan which he had formed of setting fire to the principal quarters of Constantinople, the arsenal, and the magazines of Topchana. It was his design that it should be done by the Greeks of the capital, in the night, and they were to fall upon, and cut to pieces, the Turks, while ten Hydriote brigs kept up a fire on the seraglio, to force the sultan to leave it, and thus to fall into the hands of the insurgents. Hypsilántis approved of the plan ; and after making some alterations in it, with the aid of Soutzo and Rhizos, he dismissed Dikaïos, giving him a letter of credit on the Ephoria of Constantinople.

Such was the state of affairs in the year 1820. A storm had meantime burst over Epirus, and the old tyrant, Ali Tebelin, was in arms against the sultan.

CHAPTER VIII.

Power of Ali Pasha—Ismaël Pashô-bey—Attempts of Ali on the life of Ismaël—Ali declared a Rebel—Measures of Defence adopted by him—Anagnostos—Ali's Great Divan—Pehlevan Pasha—His March through Boeotia—Capture of Parga—Description of Jannina—Destroyed by Ali—Miseries of the Inhabitants—Siege of Ali's Castles.

AFTER the acquisition of Parga, Ali seemed to have little left to desire, except the permanent establishment of his family. He was now seventy-eight years old, and, in the course of nature, could not have very many years to live; his son, Mookhtar, was begler-bey of Berat, and that prince's eldest son, Hussein, was pasha of Delvino; Salik, the old vizir's third son, governed Lepanto. Veli, who had been deprived of his government of the Morea, was living in retirement; but his son, Mehemet, was Valesi of Paramythia. The power of the family of Tebelin thus extended over all the country from the confines of Macedonia to the gulf of Lepanto. The thirst of vengeance, that strongest passion of the ferocious Ali, caused the downfall of this edifice of power, which it had taken him so many years to erect.

Ismaël Pashô-bey, who was married to a female relative of the pasha, was regarded by him as the chief cause of the want of submission to his will shown by Veli Pasha, to whom Ismaël, it is said, had revealed the horrible secret of the

incest committed by Ali with his innocent and unsuspecting daughter-in-law, Zobeide, the wife of Veli. Having escaped the blows of six assassins sent against him by the old pasha, Ismaël Pashô had sought refuge in Negropont. A fresh attempt of the revengeful Ali obliging him to leave that island, he went to Egypt, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, thence proceeded to Asia Minor, and finally to Roomelia. In all his wandering, he was traced by the agents of Ali, who, on finding that under a feigned name he had entered the service of Mohammed Dramali, the vizir of Drama in Thrace, procured a firman, addressed to the vizir, directing him to cut off the head of Pashô-bey. Pashô, by good fortune meeting the capijee-bashee who was the bearer of the order, and pretending to him that he was Dramali, succeeded in making his escape; and, under the character of a pilgrim from the Holy Land, he took up his abode in a Servian convent, in Upper Macedonia. Ali accused Dramali to the Porte of having favoured the escape of Pashô-bey. He easily, however, cleared himself, and the innocence of Pashô was at the same time made manifest. As there were no further hopes of obtaining a firman against him, Ali resolved to have once more recourse to assassination; and having ascertained where he was, he dispatched a Christian, named Athanasius Vaya, one of his most devoted agents, to perform the deed. This man, pretending that he had fallen from the favour of Ali, and that there was no security for him but under the dress of the caloyers, sought refuge in the same convent with Pashô. The superior hastened to

inform the latter that a countryman of his was coming to abide in the convent. From the description of him given by the superior, he at once recognised Vaya, and easily guessed with what design he was come. He, therefore, did not hesitate to inform the superior of his real name and character, and with his aid he left the convent, and departed for Constantinople.

In the capital, the manners, and the talents and acquirements, of Ismaël Pashô, speedily gained him friends ; and here he met the Ætolian captain Paleopoolos, who had been for some years living under the protection of France, and was now about to settle in Russian Bessarabia. The Greek communicated to him a memorial presented to the Porte against Ali in 1812, at which time, though circumstances had obliged the sultan to defer his vengeance, he had sworn by the tombs of his ancestors to perform it on the first opportunity. This memorial was now presented anew, and Pashô showed that the clear revenue of Ali so far exceeded his expenditure, and his annual remittance to the Porte, that his treasure must necessarily be immense. This consideration operated strongly on the mind of Sultan Mahmood, and Pashô pledged his head, that, with 20,000 men, he would force his way to Jannina, without firing a shot. The ministers applauded his plans, then hesitated, at length refused to engage in the business, expecting that time would, as usual, bring in the spoils of the old vizir. Paleopoolos was setting out in despair for Bessarabia, when death surprised him ; and he died *regretting* that he could not appear once more

in arms against his old foe. Pashô deemed it his interest to affect the character of a devotee ; and Ali, learning that he frequented the Ulema and the dervishes, thought that he might safely defer his plans of vengeance against him.

Meantime complaints against the vizir of Jannina poured in every day to the seraglio, and Pashô-bey, whom the sultan had made one of his capijee-bashees, took care to call attention to them. The sultan at the same time admitted into the council Abdi-effendi of Larissa, one of the wealthiest men of Thessaly, who had been obliged to fly from the tyranny of Veli Pasha ; and these two soon drew to their side Khalet-effendi, formerly the stanch friend of Ali, but whom the avaricious pasha had of late neglected to fee. As Khalet was the friend of Mahmood's head-barber and favourite, his influence was all-powerful.* Just at this time some assassins fired pistols at Pashô-bey, and wounded him, as he was going

* As every Ottoman prince is obliged to learn some trade or art, that chosen by the present sultan Mahmood was calligraphy. Charmed with his skill in this art, Mahmood resolved to be the writer of his khat-sherifs himself, and he also kept a private journal. As the papers accumulated on his sofa, he found it necessary to have some one to take charge of them. He fixed upon his barber, whom he had known from his childhood, who shaved with great dexterity, and who, moreover, could neither write nor read, and so was a safe person. The barber's credit rapidly increased ; and as in Turkey, where there is no hereditary nobility, or distinction of ranks, *parvenus* do not find it necessary to cut their old acquaintances, Khalet-effendi, who was an old friend of the favourite, soon found that his fortune was made.

to the mosque of St Sophia, on the day that the sultan was to repair thither. The assassins, who were taken, and hung at the gate of the seraglio, confessed that they had been sent by Ali Pasha. The sultan and his minister perceived that there was no security for any one, so long as the vizir of Jannina lived. His destruction was resolved on in the privy council. He was declared *fermanly*, or excommunicate; and a fetwa was issued against him by the mufti, stating, that Ali Tebelin having been declared guilty of high treason, had been several times pardoned; but that now, as a relapse, he was put to the ban of the empire, unless within forty days he appeared to justify himself at "the golden threshold of the gate of felicity of the monarch who is the dispenser of crowns to the princes who reign in the world."

To carry this sentence into effect, it was resolved to fit out a fleet, which might, after the Ramazan, sail round to Epirus with troops on board, especially the Maniotes of Laconia, who, as mountaineers, were the best to oppose to the Albanians of Ali. At the same time, orders were issued to Mohammed Dramali, whose daughter Pashô-bey had lately married, and to Pehlevan Baba, pasha of Roochood, to collect their troops, and to the chiefs of Roomelia to be ready to march with their spahis and timariots, at the first notice, against the Epirote *fermanly*. Moostai, pasha of Scodra, and the valesi of Roomelia, received similar directions. The chief command of the whole army was given to Ismaël Pashô-bey, with the title of Vali of Jannina

and Delvino, under the name of *arpalik*;* and the name of Ali Tebelin was erased from the list of the vizirs of the empire.

Having been declared *fermanly*, Ali could not put much trust in the Mohammedans; and he naturally, therefore, had recourse to his Christian subjects, whom he sought earnestly to attach to his cause. Equal to himself in dissimulation, they were profuse in declarations of attachment to him; and, versed in all wiles as he was, the crafty old vizir became convinced that he was loved by his *people*, as he had latterly been in the habit of calling them, instead of slaves and rayas. It is even said,† we know not with what truth, that at this time the Moristes were well affected to Veli Pasha, of whose tolerance, when among them, they retained a grateful recollection; that many of their leading men were his partisans; and that the Hydraotes had, in 1808, offered to acknowledge him as prince, if he would declare the independence of the isles of the Archipelago.

Be this as it may, Ali was a rebel against his will, and he cautiously abstained from any act which would compromise him effectually with the Porte. He therefore confined himself, as much as possible, to mere measures of defence, the most judicious of which was that of re-organizing the armatoles, whose mode of warfare was so admirably adapted to the nature of the country, and whose hatred of the Osmanlis was so intense. To their chiefs he committed the

* That is, a government to be conquered.

† Pouqueville, II., 22.

defence of the most important passes and outposts. Odysseus, son of Andriscos of Prevesa, a young man who had long been one of his pages, and was distinguished, above all his fellows, for speed in the race, and strength in the combat,—the attributes of the heroes of ancient Greece,—was appointed to defend Livadia. Tassos was sent to Thermopylæ. Stoórnaris was directed to take the command of the bands of the Aspro-potamos; Karaískáki and his brother, of those of Ætolia and Mount Agrapha; John Varnikiótiſ was sent to the Xerómeros; Zongos was at the head of the armatoles of Mount Olympus. They all repaired to their posts; the caravans were soon stopped; the couriers robbed; the payment of taxes suspended. The primates represented in vain, in their complaints to the Porte, that Ali alone could put an end to the system of pillage. This stale device was easily seen through, and they were told to remedy themselves, by engaging the klephts to turn their arms against the rebel Ali, for whom there were now no hopes of pardon.

The government of Thessaly, and the post of Dervenjee-bashee, of which Ali had been deprived, were given to Suleiman Pasha. The secretary of this pasha, a Macedonian, named Anágnostos, and a member of the Hetairia, was resolved to devote all his influence and his talents to the deliverance of his country. As Suleiman was the bearer of a firman, addressed to all the cadis, announcing that Ali had been *put to the ban of the empire*, the artful *Anag-nostos* persuaded his master to have it *translated into Greek*, and circulated throughout the

country. Suleiman assented, and the task was committed to Anagnostos himself. The pasha being utterly ignorant of the Greek language, the secretary took what liberties he pleased with the document; and he made of it such an appeal to the people, as had surely never issued from the Ottoman chancery. The sultan, in it, calls on his faithful rayas to grasp their arms, and march against the Arnawts, who supported the sacrilegious cause of Ali Tebelin, and avenge their own wrongs, as well as those of the padishah (*emperor*.)

This proclamation was published by all orders of the clergy, and it excited a universal sensation throughout Hellas. The people everywhere armed themselves, and remained in a posture of expectation; the labours of agriculture, however, were not suspended; the taxes were paid as usual; no injury was offered to the Mohammedans.

On learning the state of affairs in Hellas, Ali Pasha fell into perplexity, doubting if he should be able to withstand the storm likely to burst over him. His bolder counsellors represented to him, that the Greeks, though armed, had no leader, and had as yet taken no decided part; and that if he was boldly to raise the standard of revolt, to proclaim liberty, to give the Greeks to understand that he was not indisposed to embrace their religion, to promise the poorer Turks a share of the properties of the agas, which he had confiscated, he might be able to triumph over all the arts and the forces of the divan.

This counsel was adopted by the old tyrant,

and on the 23d May, 1820, he assembled at Jannina what he called a great divan, composed of the principal members of the two religions. In a long speech, he expatiated on the kindness and favour which he had always manifested towards the Greeks. As he could not deny that he had done them a good deal of evil also, he shifted the blame of all such *peccadilloes* on the orders of the Porte, and on destiny. The Sooliotes and Parganotes he was obliged to attack, he declared, in his own defence, as they were the constant allies of his enemies. He lamented his faults, which he was now endeavouring to repair; he had, he said, many Sooliotes in his employment, and he intended to recall the others, that all united might fight against the Osmanlis. His avarice he excused, from the necessity which he had been under of gratifying the cupidity of the Ottoman ministry, and of collecting treasures to sustain the war which he knew they would one time or other make on him. He then ordered a great quantity of gold to be poured out before them; This, he said, was a part of the treasures which he had torn from Turks, their common enemies, and which he now gave to *them*. He concluded, by calling upon all to join heart and hand to drive the Osmanlis over the Bosphorus, and by announcing an important resolution, to be communicated to them the following day.

The speech and session were ending together in silence, when Prink Leshi, the chief of the Mirdites or Latin Sheeptars, spoke out and *said*, that neither he nor his men would bear arms against the padishah. His voice was

drowned in the acclamations of the adventurers and captains of robbers, who shouted out, " Long live Ali Pasha ! Long live the restorer of liberty ! " Next day, the resolution which had been announced appeared. It was an address, in which the vizir remitted the usual taxes, and directed each chief to bring his specified contingent of men to Jannina.

Ali was filled with confidence when he beheld the number of Albanians who crowded to Jannina, enticed by the high pay which he offered, and saw the inactivity of the enemy. He endeavoured to establish an intercourse with Suleiman Pasha, and he succeeded in making him suspicious of Anágnostos, who was obliged to fly, and take refuge at Constantinople, where the war-party soon got up a charge of dilapidations, and of intelligence with the enemy, against the upright and loyal Suleiman, which ended in the displacement and decapitation of that unfortunate pasha. Dramali received orders to repair to Larissa, and Ismaël Pashô to put himself at the head of his army. Anágnostos hastened to Pehlevan Baba, pasha of Bulgaria, who had been directed to lead his troops to Larissa, and the letters of recommendation which he brought induced that rude chief to take him into his service. Pehlevan, who had been first a wrestler, (*Pehlevan, Persian,*) then a robber, and at length a pasha, set forth immediately to take possession of the pashalik of Lepanto, to which he had been appointed. Ruin and devastation tracked the route of this chief and his troops ; and on their entrance into Larissa, they *committed such excesses as were on the point*

of exciting an insurrection, were it not that Mohammed Dramali was hourly expected.

Dramali was met at Philippi by the couriers sent to hasten his arrival. He lost no time in setting out for Larissa, where he was hailed as a deliverer, and he immediately directed Pehlevan Pasha to proceed to Thermopylæ. The submission of Zongos and his men soon rewarded the sentiments of justice announced by the new pasha, and Ali was at once deserted by all the confederates on whom he had reckoned in Macedonia and Thessaly. Dramali took his post at the defile of Gomphi, waiting for the army of Ismaël Pashô-bey.

As Pehlevan Pasha led his Bulgarians through Thessaly, the inhabitants, terrified at their approach, deserted their towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountains. He expressed to Anágnostos his astonishment at the terror which he caused, and the crafty Greek exerted his powers of persuasion to induce him to send himself to endeavour to recall them, and excite them against Ali Tebelin. Pehlevan consented, and the secretary set forth on his mission. The pasha continued his march. The people of the town of Livadia, hearing of his approach, forced Odysseus, who had quartered himself in their town, to leave it, and deputed their archon and the principal inhabitants to wait on the pasha, and signify to him their submission. They also brought him a *Welcome* in money; but this did not save them from farther extortion; the whole of Bœotia was plundered, and the most detestable atrocities committed by him and his barbarians.

Anágnostos was, in the meantime, actively engaged in exciting the hatred of the Greeks against their oppressors. Under the veil of profound secrecy, he communicated to the chiefs the fact of the assemblage of a Russian army on the Pruth, and assured them that the orthodox emperor was determined to drive the Turks over the Bosphorus. A monk called Theodore, by his vehement enthusiastic eloquence, and copious employment of the lofty language of the prophets of Israel, contributed to augment the flame of hope and of religious animosity.

Odysseus made no effectual attempt to impede the march of Pehlevan, and Veli Pasha abandoned Lepanto at his approach, and retired to Jannina, where the old vizir was displaying an energy equal to that of his youth, exercising his men, superintending the repairs of his fortifications, and engaged in the futile project of giving a charter to his subjects. While he was making every effort to attach the Greeks to his cause, the pride and insolence with which the prelates and the armatole captains were now treated by Mohammed Dramali, sent them, breathing vengeance against the Osmanlis, to their mountains.

At length, at the end of July, when the Ramazan was over, the ser-asker, (*commander-in-chief*,) Ismaël Pashô-bey, reached the Vardar, (*Arius*), and immediately Moostaï, pasha of Scodra, and the tribes of Upper Albania, appeared in arms, and drove the agents and troops of Ali out of the province of Musasheh. Ali now prepared vigorously for defence; he took his own post at Jannina; he set his sons and grandsons

over his towns and fortresses; and he made Omer Brionis, bey of Avlona, his ser-asker, placing under him a force of 15,000 men. An eruption of the Montenegrins, excited by Ali, recalled Moostaï to the defence of his government, the ser-asker Ismaël was not advancing, and things began to look well for Ali Tebelin.

Ismaël Pashô-bey entered Larissa at the head of a disorderly host of 20,000 men, commanded by six vizirs and ten pashas of two tails. He sent orders to the Roomeli Valesi to advance by the defiles of the Candavian mountains on Berat, and take possession of that town; and to Pehlevan Baba to proceed to co-operate with the fleet in the attack of Prevesa. That savage chief, after pillaging every town and village to which he came, was rejoined at Vonitza by his secretary Anágnostos, bearing rich presents, and addresses full of expressions of most ardent attachment to the sultan, and of vengeance against Ali Tebelin. The former Pehlevan took and kept, the latter he flung into the sea.

Parga, where Mehemet Pasha, the son of Veli, commanded, surrendered, in spite of all his exertions, as soon as the fleet of the capitan-bey (*vice-admiral*) appeared before it, and Mehemet was conducted a prisoner on board of the admiral's ship. Ali, on hearing of the loss of Parga, rent his clothes, and cursed his days. His grief and rage were farther augmented when he heard that the Sooliotes, led by their young hero, Mark, the son of Kitzos Botzaris, were come from Naples, and the Chymariote Sheeptars from *the Ionian Isles*, and had offered their services to the sultan's officers, against the rebel. The

only reward the Sooliotes asked, was to be allowed to reconquer their mountains,—a request which was readily granted, on the condition of their previously aiding in the conquest of Prevesa. That town, in which Veli Pasha commanded, was invested by land and by sea. Arta was taken by Pehlevan Baba, who directed his march to Jannina; Pashô-bey, having forced the pass of Gomphi, and a part of the troops of Ali having joined him, pushed on also for Jannina. The armatoles of Hellas placed themselves under his command, and he reached, without opposition, the plain in which that city lies.

The town of Jannina stands on the western side of a lake, in a basin surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains. Upon an island towards the northern extremity of the lake, stood seven convents, a Greek village, and a redoubt and magazines, formed there by Ali Pasha. From the town, a peninsula, terminating in two peaks, runs out into the lake; on one of these peaks stood a Turkish mosque, and on the other the seraglio of the vizir, commonly called the Castle of the Lake. A deep fosse separated the peninsula from the town, and it was commanded by a strong castle named Litharitzza, situated towards the southern extremity of the town. The external defences of Jannina consisted merely of a paling, incapable of offering any resistance to an enemy; and Ali's only reliance was on the castles and the island, which places were defended by 250 pieces of cannon.

Ali had long since adopted the resolution of destroying the city of *Jannina*, and of defending *himself* in his fortresses, in case of the enemy

penetrating to this last stronghold of his power. As soon, therefore, as the Ottoman army came in sight, the lake was covered with barks, in which the Janninotes conveyed away their families to put them in places of security. But long ere they had all departed, the ruthless tyrant gave permission to his Albanians to commence their work of pillage. Turks and Christians then were plundered indiscriminately; the great church, in which, as in the ancient temples, money, jewels, contracts, bills of exchange, merchandise, &c. were deposited by both Turks and Christians, was broken into and pillaged by this rude soldiery; the harem and the gynaecium were violated alike by them. Jannina was as a town taken by storm. Suddenly the castles of the lake and of Litháritza commenced a furious discharge of bombs and Congreve rockets on the devoted city. Ali himself, from a platform of the castle of the lake, directed the destruction of his capital, and in a few hours Jannina was a pile of smoking ruins.

The unfortunate inhabitants of Jannina, plundered and massacred by the Albanians, cannonaded by the artillery of him who should have been their protector, fell, as they fled, into the hands of those who were coming as their ostensible deliverers. By these they were robbed of their property, their wives, and their children; and those who escaped from them had to encounter the ambuscades laid by the people of the mountainous districts through which they had to pass to reach a place of safety. *The roads, the defiles, the sides of the mountains, were filled with the dying and the dead;*

the shrieks of agony rent the air ; many, especially the young virgins, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished by hunger. And all these evils were produced by the crime of one !

The Mohammedan Sheeptars, to whom Ali had given up his subjects to be plundered, instead of remaining to defend him, raising a cry of " Let us return home ! " set out with their booty for Upper Albania, their native country. But they, too, had their enemies to encounter. The mountaineers, eager to possess themselves of the booty with which they were laden, attacked and destroyed them in detail ; ambuscades were laid for them on all sides, and the whole country, to the frontiers of Middle Albania, was filled with the bodies of the Sheeptars, lying scattered on the earth, or hanging from the trees.

Ismaël Pashô-bey led his army to the smoking ruins of Jannina, and having pitched his tent out of the reach of the cannon of the fortresses, he planted before it his horse-tails, having previously read the firman appointing him pasha of Jannina and Delvino. With loud shouts, his soldiers saluted him Vali and Gazi (*victorious*) ; the cadî then read the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the mufti against Ali Tebelin, and directed that henceforth Kara (*Black*) should be prefixed to his name. A maraboot (*dervish*) hurled a stone towards the castle, where the rebel lay ; all present repeated the curse on the Black Ali, with cries of " Live the sultan ! So be it ! Amen ! "

But weapons of a different kind were required against a man who was master of three strong

fortresses, well garrisoned and well supplied. His artillery was numerous, and a corps of adventurers, commanded by Carreto, a Neapolitan officer, managed it to the greatest advantage. These men, whom the besiegers were imprudent enough to menace with no quarter, were bound by interest to hold by him to the last; the Guegues and Toshkis also swore fidelity to him; his treasure was almost inexhaustible; his flotilla commanded the lake; the neighbouring peasantry, enticed by the high prices given, risked every danger to bring fresh provisions to the fortresses; the lake yielded abundance of excellent fish. The besiegers, on the other hand, had brought no battering cannon with them; the season was far advanced; provisions would soon begin to fail them; at the approach of winter they would be obliged to go into distant cantonments, and discord could not fail to break out in such a heterogeneous mass as they composed.

The knowledge of the immense treasures which the castles of Black Ali contained, and the hopes of becoming masters of them, kept the Turkish army from disunion, and new troops flocked every day to the camp of Ismaël Pashô. Thirty-six pashas successively traversed and pillaged Thessaly: before the unfortunate inhabitants could respire, Selim, the valesi of Roomelia, collecting the feudatories of Illyria and cis-Axian Macedonia, poured an inundation of barbarians over the hapless plains of Thessaly. A new pasha of Negropont fixed his seat at Livadia, and forced the people to pay a double contribution. No redress could be obtained from Ismaël Pashô;

and the government of Ali, oppressive as it had been, was looked back to with regret. Ali was aware of all this ; he was in secret correspondence with the Hetairists ; he knew of the great insurrection which was meditated ; his partisans in the mountains frequently stopped the couriers sent by the pashas of the Ottoman army to the Porte ; and could he but keep the large garrisons of his castles faithful, he might yet have his fill of vengeance on his enemies.

The old satrap, accordingly, deemed it prudent to get rid of all those who were discontented, and put them in a position where they might be of more real service to him. Odysseus had retired with his men called the *Roes of Ætolia* to Jannina, and Ali had assigned them their post in the castle of the lake. There these free rovers of the mountains felt themselves pent up and ill at ease, and they soon began to talk of deserting. Their commander, who was faithful to Ali, informed him of their sentiments, and was directed by him to encourage them in them, and to ascertain all who were similarly affected. The number was found to amount to 1500 ; and Ali, announcing a sortie, named them all to be of it, in order, as he said, fully to exhibit their devotion to him. He ordered them to be given all the pay that was due to them ; and as he had given Odysseus the means of communication with Ismaël Pashô, all things were likely to go according to his wishes.

At the appointed hour, Odysseus left the castle at the head of his 1500 men. As soon as they came in view of the head-quarters of Ismaël, they raised the white flag, and Odysseus,

putting one knee to the ground, proclaimed Ismaël aloud *Vali* and *Gazi*. The deserters were received in the camp with joyful shouts of *Alai ! Alai !* and assigned a quarter to bivouac in. They were promised bread when it was to be had, and money when Ali's castles were taken. But soon the arts of their old master were employed to make them suspected by their new friends ; each day brought them fresh insults and humiliations ; Odysseus secretly left them, and retired to Ithaca ; the Osmanlis augmented their ill-treatment: the armatoles at last left the camp, and taking to the mountains, became, as Ali had anticipated, their bitterest enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

Veli and Mookhtar abandon the cause of their Father—Conduct of Mahmood bey—Pehlevan Pasha poisoned—The Ottomans driven from Jannina—The Parganotes are offered permission to return to Parga—They refuse it—Ali opens a communication with the Sooliotes—Repulses the enemy—The Sooliotes conclude a Treaty with him—They take a caravan from Arta—Defeat the Turks at the Five Wells—Ali enters into a Negotiation with the Albanians—His letter to the Sooliotes falls into the hands of Ismaël—Stratagem of Ismaël—Defeat of Ali.

PREVESA was still defended by Veli, and Mookhtar held the strong place of Argyrocastro. Ismaël deemed it a stroke of policy to gain these two places, by inducing the sons to abandon their father. Veli, accordingly, received a letter from his old friend Ismaël, ac-

accompanied by a firman appointing him pasha of Acre, and directing him to go on board the vice-admiral, after he had given up Prevesa. After some deliberation, he consented, and left Epirus for ever. A letter from Veli, and a firman naming him to the pashalik of Kutahiyeh, in Asia Minor, reached Mookhtar at the same time, and he gave up the castle of Argyrocastro, and proceeded to Salonika, where he was to embark for his new government. On his way, he took with him his brother Salik, who was also appointed to a sanjac in Anatolia,—for the Porte was lavish of its gifts; the victims were to be crowned with flowers, and to proceed voluntarily to the altar. Mookhtar wrote also to his son Mahmood, a boy of nine years of age, who commanded at Tebelin, directing him to give up that town, and to proceed to join him. Mahmood assembled his council: “My father, my uncles, my cousins, have deceived my grandfather; would you have Mahmood-bey do the same?” said he, in a mournful tone. “We will sooner die!” cried the Toshkis warriors; and they tore in a rage the summons which Ismaël Pashô had sent, with the letter of his father.

Ali himself was the first to announce to his soldiers the desertion of his sons, saying, that from this day forth, he had no children and no heirs but the defenders of his cause; and to show the besiegers how little the intelligence affected him, he commenced a cannonade, which lasted till late at night.

The surrender of Prevesa having furnished the besiegers with cannon and mortars, the trenches

were opened before the castle, and scarcely had the balls begun to shake the walls of Litharitzza, when the Turks, mad for plunder, clamoured to be led on to the assault. Ismaël represented the folly of attempting to take, sword in hand, a place filled with cannon, and in which no breach had yet been made, where they would be obliged to advance under a constant fire, without any works to protect them; and the wiser sort coming over to his opinion, the cries and murmurs of the soldiers were repressed. But Pehlevan Babá accused the ser-asker of treachery and cowardice, and of a design to divide the treasures of Ali between himself and Dramali; his quarters became the resort of the discontented; he gave his soldiers all manner of license, and at length went so far as to open a correspondence with Ali Tebelin. Ismaël, by the advice of Anágnostos, had Pehlevan poisoned, pretending that it was the only safe course to pursue with him. The treacherous Greek passed over to the service of the ser-asker, and a sum of £60,000 was sent to the Porte as the treasure of the traitor, with a statement of his crimes and of his death.

To excite discontent among the soldiers of Ali, was the evident policy of Ismaël. Accordingly, he managed dexterously to have reproaches conveyed to the Guegues and the Toshkis of the garrison, of how disgraceful it was for them to suffer their old masters and benefactors, Ibrahim of Berat and his son, still to languish in prison. The Sheeptars menaced; Ali yielded at once, and set his illustrious captives at liberty, *only requiring that they should not leave the castle.* Encouraged by this success, they de-

manded an augmentation of their pay, and Ali was obliged to raise it to upwards of L.4 a-month, and to increase that of his other troops in proportion. "I never haggle with my family," said he, though each piastre he gave was like a drop of his heart's blood; "my adoptive children shed their blood for me, and gold is nothing compared with what they do for me." He, however, resolved to get rid as soon as possible, of some of the most craving of his children, by making them the *enfants perdus* of a sortie. At the appointed time, the drawbridges fell, the Guegues and Toshkis rushed like lions on the redoubts of the Ottomans, their bodies were soon an ascent for the reserve, the works were carried, disorder was spread among the besiegers, men and generals fled to Jalova, and Ali was once more master of Jannina.

Knowing that his treasures were as likely to be his destruction as his salvation, Ali now resolved to put them, while he had the opportunity, out of the reach of both friends and enemies. Placing, therefore, a certain portion of them in the powder-magazine, ready to be destroyed if he should be reduced to such necessity, he was employed, during several successive nights, in getting chests full of treasure sunk in different parts of the lake, by gipsies, whom he then put to death, that the knowledge of where his wealth lay might be confined to his own bosom. Having accomplished this object, he recalled his men to the castle, leaving the enemy at liberty to repossess himself of the town.

By the exertions of the British minister at Constantinople, an order was procured for re-

storing the Parganotes to their country, and the ser-asker wrote to them to say, that the goodness of the sultan allowed them to redeem their property on condition of their paying the royal tithe, the *zygokephalon*, for themselves as well as for their cattle, and all the other taxes paid by the rayas of the glorious sultan; and that those who had not the means of redeeming their property, should pay every year two-thirds of the crop. The Parganotes replied by expressing great respect for the sultan; but they said, that, as they had never been his subjects, they owed him neither tribute nor obedience, and that they claimed their country, free and independent, under the protection of Great Britain. They concluded by thanking Ismaël Pashô, and declaring that they had nothing farther to transact with him relative to a matter which did not depend on him.

The reply of the Parganotes was read in the great divan of the ser-asker, and it was unanimously agreed to discharge all the armatoles of Hellas, and to require in their place, men to work at the trenches about to be opened, as artillery had arrived from Constantinople. The task of communicating this intelligence was committed to the ser-asker, as he was acquainted with the Greek language. Ismaël, accordingly, summoned before him the primates and captains of the Greeks, and telling them that the Sublime Porte would, for the future, dispense with their military services, he directed them to go home to their several districts, and maintain a good *police* against the robbers, but not to expect any pay; he, moreover, informed the primates, that

they were not to look for any compensation for losses which might have been sustained ; and added, that according to the letter of the law Suliemán I., the sultan did not, and would not, recognise in Hellas any others than agas (*lords*) or rayas taskable and taxable at mercy. He required from them within three months a list of the *infidels* paying *caratch*, in order to increase tax ; and concluded by assessing the number of men and cattle to be furnished by each agas every three months. No indignation was expressed ; the captains still continued at Jannina, hoping to prevail on the ser-asker to employ them, and the cattle and peasants came without delay to the camp.

As the siege of Prevesa was at an end, the Sooliotes, 760 in number, came to head-quarters, and demanded the execution of the promise made, allowing them to reconquer their country.

As there were but 60 men in the castle of Kiafiá, they undertook to take it, and then to obey the sultan, according to the terms of the capitulation made with their ancestors. This demand of the Sooliotes was but for mere justice ; it is probable either the divan, or Ismaël himself, feared to see them again in their fortresses, whence they had so often defied the Ottoman might. He offered them lands near Glyfada, where their families then were, or, he said, would give them Loroos. Nothing, however, would content them but Sooli. The discontent of the Sooliotes was shared by the other Parganotes, who were plundered and oppressed by imperial troops ; and even the despotism of the sultan was now regretted ; provisions began to fail

in the camp ; the bands of Odysseus became active, and harassed the convoys ; the Mohammedans accused the Christians of all their sufferings, and the ser-asker made the Sooliotes leave his camp, assigning them the quarter near the gate of St Nicholas, by the lake.

While the Sooliotes were lying in this position, brooding over the ill treatment which they had experienced, and listening to the voice and lyre of Mark Botzaris, who, in his improvised poetic strains, evermore called on them to imitate the deeds of their gallant sires, they marked with surprise several bombs to fall on their camp without bursting. Moved by curiosity, they examined them, and found in one a roll of paper instead of a fusee, with these words written on it, *Open carefully*. They brought it to the chiefs, and on drawing out the paper, it was found to contain a letter from Ali, telling them that he had sent to call them to his aid when they landed at Glychys, but that destiny had made them range themselves on the side of his enemies. He extolled their valour, though it had been fatal to him ; and hearing that Ismaël had perfidiously refused them the pay due to their services, told them that they would find in one of the bombs an order for 6000 gold sequins. He begged that one of them would come to him in the boat, which he would send to a certain place at seven o'clock at night ; and that, if they understood him, they would light three fires on the side of the fosse near which their quarters were.

The Gerontes (elders) of the Sooliotes, having met to consult, decided to accept the offer of Ali,

and a monk undertook the office of envoy to him. The fires were lighted as required, and, at the appointed time and place, the boat appeared. The caloyer got on board, and soon found himself in the presence of the old satrap. Ali received him with great affection, but seemed disappointed that one of the warriors was not come; and placing the monk at his side, he read the letter of recommendation which he brought from the Sooliote chiefs. He then put into his hand a real or pretended intercepted letter from Khalet-effendi to Ismaël Pashô, informing him that a conspiracy of the infidels had been revealed to the Porte, and that it had been resolved to anticipate them, to massacre all the males capable of bearing arms, and to circumcise the children, and rear them up as soldiers, trained in the European manner. The letter then entered into details, and enigmatically pointed out the approaching spring as the season of putting the plan into execution. Ali then desired him to make the following propositions to his countrymen:—

1. That he would restore them Sooli ;
2. That he would engage to give them a year's pay in advance ;
3. That they should instantly quit the Ottoman army ;
4. That they should commence hostilities as soon as they got to their mountains ;
5. That they should give him a certain number of the children of the captains of their Pharas as hostages ;
6. That he would give them, when the treaty was signed, an order to his commandant at Sooli to deliver up to them all the posts except Kako-Sooli.

Then, giving the monk the letter of Khalet-effendi to show to the *Sooliotes*, and cloaks and arms to present

to them, he dismissed him, requiring him to return at the same hour two days thence, accompanied by three Sooliote captains empowered to conclude the treaty.

Next day, the enemies, advancing in four columns, made a furious attack on the exterior works of Ali. His advanced posts were driven in, and the foe was advancing rapidly towards the place of arms, which was in the centre of these works. Ali ordered his Guegues and the corps of adventurers to prepare for a sortie, to be headed by himself. He mounted his Arab horse Dervish; Athanasius Vaya bore his musket, of French manufacture, presented by Bonaparte to Jezzer, pasha of Acre, and by Selim III. to the great vizir, Kior Yoossoof, who, when dying, left it to Ali Tebelin. At his saddle-bow hung the musquatoon of Charles XII., given to him by Gustavus Adolphus when he touched at Prevesa on his way to the Holy Land; and he girded on him the sabre of Krim Gheri, which Orchan, the descendant of that prince, had bestowed on him when he enjoyed his hospitality at Jannina. He gave the signal; his Guegues and the adventurers rushed on with loud shouts. He took his own post on an eminence; and as he perceived the officers of the enemy, he fired at, and killed or wounded them. The Osmanlis fled, leaving twenty-two chiefs and one hundred and fifty soldiers dead. The loss on the side of Ali was but forty-two men and a captain. He ordered his dead to be interred, and he returned to the Castle of the Lake in triumph.

That very day arrived Baltajee, pasha of Negropont, leading fifteen thousand Asiatics to rein-

force the army of the ser-asker. Livadia had had to deplore the presence of this chief and his devastating bands, who were followed by a crowd of Greek children of both sexes, whom they had dragged away for slaves. The return of the Romeli Valesi, Selim, was also announced, who had been in Thessaly, and now returned, bringing two thousand Greek rayas, coupled like dogs, to work at the trenches and fortifications, twelve hundred beasts of burden, and four hundred Valachian women, laden with corn and other provisions, seized from the people of the plains of Pharsalus and Tricala. The whole Turkish camp resounded with acclamations of joy, and curses of Kara Ali.

The Sooliotes, before they engaged any farther with Ali, resolved to make another attempt at obtaining their just claims from the ser-asker. They had a deed signed by himself, in which he engaged to pay them exactly, and a firman, directing them to be restored their property, and given possession of the domains of their ancestors. In a great divan held at Bonila, they made their application for justice to Ismaël Pashô; but he haughtily declared, that he could not give up to infidels a country in which the true believers had built mosques. As to their property, he added, showing them a firman, they had fallen to the treasury, and could not be restored. The indignant Sooliotes cried, that the sultan was deceived, that they would reconquer a country held by the troops of a rebel vizir, and that his highness would then see if they were worthy to possess a country recovered by those *who only desired the glory of being his most*

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faithful soldiers. At the mention of the word *soldiers*, Ismaël flew into a rage, called them *ra-yas*, vile kaffirs (*infidels*), told them that to till the ground and obey, was their lot, threatened to take from them, before long, their arms, and drove them from his presence.

On returning to their camp, the Sooliotes, as indignant on their side as the ser-asker, resolved at once to close with the offers of their old foe. Nothi Botzaris and two others were chosen as their deputies to him ; the three fires were lighted, the boat appeared, and carried them to the Castle of the Lake. Ali expressed the utmost friendship for them ; he asked if they had any observations to make on the proposals which he had sent to them. They began to read them over again, and discuss them ; when they came to the one relating to the hostages, they stopped. Ali endeavoured to show the necessity and advantage of it ; they required that if they gave him their wives and children, he should give them his grandson Hussein Pasha, the son of Mookhtar, whom, if he chose, they would make their commander. The wily old satrap was forced to consent ; and it was agreed, that the exchange of hostages should be made within two days, at the Castle of the Lake, when the Sooliotes should receive 150,000 piastres, and 150 packets of ammunition. Ali then required that they should take advantage of the following night to retire to their mountains. When he spoke of *night*, Botzaris proudly declared that they would leave the imperial camp in the *face of the day*. Ali at once consented to leave *all the arrangements* to his own discretion.

Chrysé, the wife of Mark Botzaris, presented herself and her two children as the first hostages; her example was followed by others; they were conveyed by night to the isle of the lake; and Hussein Pasla, who was in his twentieth year, was brought by night also, accompanied by his *coja* or tutor, and such servants as he required, to the camp of the Sooliotes. Nothi Botzaris, placing Hussein, and a sufficient number of men and women laden with provisions and ammunition, in the centre of a division of four hundred palicares, set out that same night, telling Mark Botzaris that he would wait for him at Variades. Mark, who remained in the camp with three hundred and twenty men, made them throw down the palisade, and then ascending Mount Paktoros, waited for the appearance of the dawn. When the sun rose, he ordered the cry of war to be raised, and a general volley to be fired on the advanced post of the Ottomans. He then unfurled the standard of the cross, and slowly retired in the presence of the Turkish army. They did not venture to pursue him, and in the evening he joined his uncle at Variades.

The Sooliotes had sent to inform the commander of the castle of Kiapha of the treaty concluded between them and Ali. As they approached their mountains, they were met by their messenger, bearing the reply of the Sardar (*castellan*), informing them that they were welcome to occupy all the positions of the mountains except the fortress committed to him. They were astonished when, having crossed the Acheron, and reached the mill of Dala, they

beheld a large fortress well defended by cannon in place of the small tower of Kiapha. They advanced, however, and ascended to Sooli, where they encamped, having thrown up some hasty works for their defence; their posts soon occupied the entrance of the defiles, and the Sardar found himself completely blocked up by them.

The men who now returned to Sooli, differed from those who had left it in 1804; they had served in the armies of France, England, and Russia, their ideas had been enlarged by commerce with the world, and their narrow prejudices had given way. They saw plainly that valour alone would not suffice for defence, that there must be union and co-operation, and they resolved to endeavour to form a confederacy of the Christians of Thesprotia. Their efforts were in a great measure successful, and Nothi Botzaris, who was chosen Polimarck, very soon saw himself at the head of 3500 warriors, instead of 900, which he had led from the camp at Jannina. In order to commence operations against the Turks, he dispatched Mark Botzaris with 250 men to take possession of the fortified khan at the Five Wells.

As ammunition was failing in the Turkish camp, Ismaël had sent the selictar (*sword-bearer*) of Mohammed Dramali to Arta and Prevesa, with directions to collect all the powder and ball in these towns, and all the public money, and to bring them to the camp. The selictar having performed his task, formed a caravan of 130 loaded mules, guarded by 250 Spahis, and *an equal number of Asiatic soldiers, armed with musquetoons.* The approach of this cara-

van having been very pompously announced, the intelligence had reached the ears of Nothi Botzaris, and he directed his nephew to lie in wait for it, previous to attacking the Five Wells; he charged him, moreover, when he should have taken this last place, to fortify himself strongly in it, in order to cut off the communication between Arta and Jannina, and to burn it to the ground if he should find himself unable to maintain it.

The Turks, having left Arta with their convoy, proceeded over the plains of Amphilochia, amusing themselves, according to their usual custom, with galloping and caracoling their horses. When they came to the defile of Koomakhades, they began to shout and fire their guns to scare away any robbers who might happen to be there. The whole caravan and escort were hardly completely engaged in the defile, when they found themselves assailed in front, in rear, and in flank, by Mark Botzaris and his Sooliotes. At this sudden discharge of musketry from all sides, the mule-drivers threw themselves on the ground,—the soldiers, in disorder and consternation, fled, some back to Arta, others on to Jannina. The Sooliotes, quitting their ambush, rushed forth and pursued them. The whole convoy fell into the hands of the victors; the Turks left twenty-five men dead, forty wounded, and five prisoners. The peasants were directed to drive their mules to Sooli; forty bold palicares escorted them, taking with them the prisoners and the heads of the slain. A party sent on by Mark Botzaris, towards the Five Wells, found the khan abandoned by *its* garrison, and took possession of it.

Nothi Botzaris, accompanied by a train of women and children, came down from the mountain to meet the caravan, for a *pezodrome* (*runner*) sent forward by Mark Botzaris, had informed him of his success. He allowed the peasants to return home with their mules, without ransom, and the women, putting the loading of the mules on their shoulders, carried it up the mountain. Among the prisoners were two beys, two mallas, and a *cadi*: these were in derision sold to gipsies, for an ass and some tobacco—the *cadi*, as he could find no purchaser, was set at liberty; the other prisoners were ransomed by the Turks of Paramythia.

The Osmanlis were filled with rage at the audacity of the Jowers, who had dared to attack and put them to flight, and they burned for vengeance. After a *dooa*, or solemn prayer and fast, held throughout the camp, the Romeli Valesi and Baltajee-pasha were sent with five thousand men against the two hundred Sooliotes who garrisoned the caravanserai of the Five Wells. Intelligence of their intention had been conveyed by Ali to the Sooliotes, and Mark Botzaris, who had been joined by the relics of the troop of Odysseus, and several of the men of Agrapha, proposed to give them a warm reception. He placed two-thirds of his men in ambush, in the lime-stone rocks around the place, with directions not to stir till they saw the entire of the Turkish force engaged, and retired with the remainder of his men into the fortress.

The Five Wells are distant a march of seven hours from Jannina, and the Osmanlis, who

had set out at sunset, hoping to surprise the Sooliotes, reached the caravanserai at the break of day. Immediately with loud cries and shouts they commenced the attack. Some assailed the gates with hatchets, others climbed the walls; the dervishes, with loud cries of *Ya gazi ! Ya she-deed ! (Victory ! martyrdom !)* cast handfuls of dust in the air. In spite of the fire from the garrison some of the assailants had got to the top of the wall, when the ambushed Sooliotes rushed from their concealment, and fell on the Osmanlis. A cry of *Jower gheldi ! (The infidel is come !)* arose, and in confusion the Moslems began to fly. The Sooliotes ran along the side of the mountain, along which the road passes, and rolled down masses of rock on the fugitives. Mark Botzaris sallied forth and hung on their rear, and had he had sufficient men to occupy the pass of Thyriaki in their front, he might have destroyed their whole army. The loss of the Turks, owing to the rapidity of their flight, was but two hundred and eighty men; the quantity of arms and clothes cast away in their retreat was considerable, and it required all the influence of Mark Botzaris to keep the Sooliotes and Agraphiotes from coming to blows in the division of the spoil.

The Osmanlis, on their return to the camp, were greeted by the sarcasms and derision of the Albanians; and that very evening, to augment the chagrin of Ismaël Pashô, a tatar arrived from Constantinople to inform him, that the chief command of the troops in Epirus had been conferred by the Porte on Khoorsheed, vizir of the *Morea*.

The Porte had sent orders to Khoorshe set out early in the spring, and to do his utmost to pacify the insurgents. The capitans who had great powers of conciliation, were directed to open negotiations with the Sooli but Ismaël Pashô was resolved, if possible to frustrate him, and even to add to the number of the discontented. He therefore called a council of the pashas who were still in camp, and gave them his sentiments on the subject of negotiating with the Sooliotes, who would reject all propositions made to them with disdain. "But, leaving others to be taught by experience, it is our duty," said he, "to this the army." He then took the roll, and showed that there were fifteen thousand men who could be depended on, exclusive of the Albanians. Some surprise being manifested at his exclusion of these last, he began and went through various instances of impiety and insubordination which they had shown, and their slight attachment to Kara Ali the rebel. He proposed that the principal chiefs should be required to give hostages for their fidelity. This proposition was agreed to by the council, and communicated to the Albanians, by whom it was received with the utmost rage and consternation. But they assembled for the time, and only asked some conditions to enable them to bring their wives and children (the required hostages) from the districts at which they were.

While the Albanian chiefs were deliberating what were best to be done to rid themselves of the Ottoman yoke, their old master, Ali, knew every thing that occurred in the

sent to propose to them to return to his service, and to join in delivering Albania of the Osmanlis; he directed them to send Alexis Nootzas, if they could gain him over, to confer with him on their common affairs, and bade them to beware of Omer Vriones, who had just been appointed pasha of Berat (a thing not yet known in the camp, or by Omer himself); he concluded by offering them money to discharge the arrears of pay due to their men, and by imploring them to be on their guard against the *servant*, as he called Ismaël Pashô. The chiefs shed tears as they read the letter; they embraced, and congratulated each other on having again found their old Tebelin, and resolved to lose no time in sounding Nootzas.

Alexis Nootzas, though a Christian, had been the willing agent of the tyranny and oppression of Ali, but he had afterwards deserted him with the rest. He had long since, however, regretted what he had done, for his pride was galled by the insults, and his life endangered by the menaces, of the haughty and bigoted Osmanlis, and he had been for some time the secret agent of his old master. The Albanian chiefs, therefore, when they addressed themselves to him, found him perfectly acquainted with the whole business, for it was he, in fact, who had informed Ali of their discontent. He agreed at once to be their envoy to the old vizir; but as he could not again return to the camp, he directed Tahir Abas, one of them, to go and announce his defection, in order the better to keep away suspicion from himself.

Ali, on hearing of the arrival of Nootzas,

left his subterraneous retreat, and went out to meet him. He embraced him, called him *his dear son, his own blood*, declared before all, whatever may have been his motive, that Mookhtar and Veli were the offspring of the adulterous intercourse of their mother, and persisted in asserting that Nootzas was his issue by a Christian mother. Nootzas, astonished at these assertions, new to his ear, and which he well knew to be false, followed his pretended father into his secret recess, to give him all the information he was possessed of—which amounted to this, that the imperial army contained but thirteen thousand effective men, and that the capitana-bey had already made proposals to the Sooliotes.

This last piece of intelligence was sudden to Ali, who had written to Khoorsheed Pasha justifying himself, and particularly asserting that his conduct towards the Sooliotes had been solely with the design of putting them in a false position, by his retention of the castle of Kiapha. But Khoorsheed, who saw through his artifice, wrote off at once to the capitana-bey to open, without delay, negotiations with the Sooliotes; to represent to them the desperate condition of Ali, and their own state, environed as they were by Mohammedan tribes; to offer them large pay; and to hold out the prospect of their being reinstated in their mountains at the end of the war. The truth of the report of Alexis was soon confirmed by the receipt of a letter from the chiefs of the Sooliotes, in which they informed Ali that the *sultan* offered them 50 piastres a-month for *each man*, and a pension of 800 for every wife,

child, or near relative of those who should die fighting under his standard ; and promised to recognise them as an independent people, and to put the fortress of Kiapha into their hands. Their palicares, they said, were urgent to have Kiapha given up to them, menacing, if it was refused, to join the Turks at once. For themselves, they declared that they were resolved to adhere to their treaty with him ; but that their palicares would be content with nothing short of possession of the castle of Kiapha.

The letter of the Sooliotes was brought on the 20th January, 1821. On the 21st, Ali wrote in reply to the Sooliotes, telling them that he intended, on the morning of the 26th, to attack the camp of Pashô-bey, and inviting them to descend into the valley of Jannina, and occupy a position which he indicated, in order to create a diversion. After this last service, which would put an end to the imperial army, he would most willingly comply with all their wishes.

Unfortunately for Ali, this letter fell into the hands of Ismaël Pashô, who immediately communicated it to Mohammed Dramali, and the two consulted how to make the old fox fall by his own device. It was deemed the best plan to secure at once the attachment of Omer Briones, by investing him with the pashalik which the sultan had conferred on him ; and the next day, after a *binish* * through the army, the ser-asker held a great divan, in which he clad Omer in the pelisse of honour ; and the Sheep-tars, saluting him Authentés, (*master*,) ranged

* *Binish*, a cavalcade or procession.

themselves under the standard of their new pasha. Ismaël, having kept Omer to supper, communicated to him the letter of Ali; and his guest, in the warmth of the zeal produced by the favour conferred upon him by the padishah, was for falling at once on the four Albanian agas who corresponded with the traitor, and cutting their throats. Ismaël applauded his virtuous indignation, but requested him to moderate it for the present; and it was arranged that the suspected agas should be sent to Protopapas, under pretext of quelling an insurrection in the valley of Pogoniani; while Omer Briones, with four thousand of his Sheeptars, should go along the back of Mount Paktoras, as far as the village of Bardoono, and, leaving part of his men there, return towards the camp along the face of the mountain;—so that Ali's sentinels, seeing their white cloaks by the starlight, might take them for the Sooliotes. Orders were issued throughout the camp for all to hold themselves in readiness to march by daybreak against the deserter Alexis Nootzas, who was said to be in arms in the mountains of Kalpaki.

The first rays of light were glimmering on the horizon, when the thunder of the cannon of Litharitzza and the Castle of the Lake announced a sortie of the besieged. Of the whole garrison, five thousand in number, Ali left but twelve hundred to guard the fortress. The rest issued forth, led by himself, to assail the besiegers. The greater part were directed to attack the batteries, and to turn them, when taken, against the entrenched camp; the flotilla *was to land* one hundred and fifty men at the

head of the causeway of Castritza, to intercept the fugitives. Ali himself would push on with some select troops to join the Sooliotes, and attack the imperialists on another side. Ismaël had his men disposed to receive the coming foe; the smoke of the artillery enveloped and concealed all objects; no sound was heard, save the roar of the cannon. Just as the sun was mounting over the eastern range of hills, the smoke was suddenly scattered, and Ali's adventurers and Sheeptars were seen at the foot of the first battery, defended by Ibrahim Aga Stamboul. The first battery was speedily carried; and they advanced to the attack of the second, which was bravely maintained against them by the bim-bashee (*colonel*) of bombardiers, Balshoosa, a renegade from the Balkan.

Ali, who had left the Castle of the Lake preceded by twelve men bearing *mashallahs*,* and followed by fifteen hundred men, with two pieces of cannon and their caissons, had by sunrise reached the end of what had been the principal street of Jannina. Sending word to his troops to press the second redoubt as vigorously as possible, he pushed on to join the Sooliotes. Arrived at the great plane-tree of his lower garden, he discerned at a little distance what he took to be their encampment. He forthwith sent on to them Kyr Lekos, prince of the Mirdites, (who had remained with him,) and twenty men. Lekos displayed a white flag; one came forth to meet him, giving the appointed pass-word, *Floori*, (*Sequin*,) and he dispatched one of his

* A kind of portable lights.

men to tell Ali that he might advance. He and his men entered the enclosure, where they were surrounded, and massacred as rapidly "as if Azrael, the angel of death, had cut the thread of their days."

Leaving his cannon at the plane-tree, Ali was advancing. The non-appearance of Lekos and his men caused him some suspicion ; and he had sent forward Athanasius Vaya to direct the head of the column to halt, when a sudden fire from the vineyards and bushes told him that he was fallen into an ambush. Omer Pasha, preceded by his horse-tails, falls on his advanced guard ; troops appear on all sides ; turn where he will, he meets a foe ; his last hour, he deems, is come ; his only hope is to drag Omer with him to the tomb. He had collected his bravest men around him, to make one final and fatal charge at the pasha, when a sudden thought struck him. He orders the caissons of powder, which were under a wall, to be set fire to. Amidst the smoke and confusion caused by the explosion, calling aloud to his men to follow him, he quits the field, and retires under the cannon of the castle of Litharitzza, where he renews the fight, to keep that portion of the imperial army in occupation.

The troops of Ali had meantime carried the second redoubt, and reached the intrenched camp. The ser-asker and Mohammed Dramali kept them closely engaged, while Omer Briones moved to get in their rear. Ali, who saw, but could not prevent, this manœuvre, or inform his *men of it*, foamed with rage ; time after time *he charged the enemy*, shouting with all the

vigour of his youth. He is still driven back under the cannon of his castle ; his men are now between two fires ; the fortune of the day is lost ; those who are about him, hurry him away to the Castle of the Lake.

It was now noon, when the troops of Ali perceived that they were surrounded. They divided themselves into two bodies, of which the one resolved to make for the mountains, and join the Sooliotes ; the other to force their way to the Castle of the Lake. The Sheeptars, who composed the former, were pursued by Ismaël and Dramali ; and, after repeated combats, and losing one of their leaders, they scattered over the mountains, and thus escaped towards the heights of Sooli. The adventurers forced their way with the bayonet through the troops of Omer Pasha ; and, placing their wounded on their shoulders, secured themselves under the castle of Litharitzza. A pyramid of 420 heads, for each of which a ducat was paid, piled before the tents of Ismaël Pashô, bore witness to the loss sustained by the troops of Kara Ali. Gipsies were directed to flay and stuff them, that they might be sent to the capital, and exposed before the gate of the seraglio.

Ali, having arranged with the victors about the burial of his men, wrote that very evening to Alexis Nootzas and to Tahir Abas, to inform them of what had happened. He desired them to collect all the troops they could, and to proceed with them towards Sooli ; and at the same time he sent them a letter, addressed to the Sooliotes, in which he entreated of them to break off *their negotiations* with the capitana-

bey, which were only intended to amuse and deceive them. "Serve my cause," said he, "till the month of March, and the sultan will have so much on his hands, that we shall be able to dictate terms to him. Brave Sooliotes, you will then re-enter on possession of your mountains, and from the heights of Kiapha you will assist at the funeral of the Ottoman empire."

A great explosion, and one which has shaken the Ottoman empire to its base, was at hand. To trace its commencement and progress, we must for a while leave the mountains of Epirus, and cast our view over scenes soon to be signalized by war and calamity.

CHAPTER X.

Signs and prodigies—Discontent manifested at Patras—Khoorsheed negotiates with Ali—The Insurrection breaks out in Moldavia—Hypsilantis is disowned by Russia—and deserted by the greater part of his adherents—Insurrection breaks out in the Morea—The Turks abandon Calavrita and Vostitza—Ali gives up Kiapha to the Sooliotes.

AN ignorant people is always superstitious, and the stronger the powers of their imagination, the more they are subject to this evil. At all periods of their history, the Greeks have viewed the immediate agency of Heaven in the unusual phenomena of the natural world; and in the excited state of their minds at the period of which we write, it was not possible that the land and sea could be awfully agitated, without their commotions being regarded by

them as precursive of equal agitations in the political world.

On the 22d December, 1820, violent shocks of an earthquake were felt in the Morea. The town of Patras, and its neighbouring hamlets, suffered considerable damage. In Elis, springs of boiling water had burst from the earth, and wells and fountains had been completely dried up. In Arcadia, pieces of mountains had sunk, and mephitic lakes appeared in their place. On the 9th January, 1821, the sea retired in the gulf of the Halcyons, in Achæa, and then returned, preceded by a roaring whirlwind, which tore up trees, and cast down the houses. The water rushed out on the land, menacing the country with inundation, when suddenly loud thunder pealed in the air; rain descended in torrents; the sea returned to its bed; the rainbow stretched its arch over Mount Panachœacus; the sun extended his ray; the gentle zephyrs began to breathe; and all nature resumed her repose. The Moreotes beheld in this war and repose of the elements, an emblem of the mode through which they were to arrive at freedom.*

Once the moral fermentation is begun, it is kept up by a constant accession of new prodigies. The Virgin of Mega Spileon, it was said, had been seen to shed tears. The monks of the convent of St Luke had, at their prayers, heard a voice crying, *Take courage!* The fathers of the Holy Mountain (*Athos*) had seen a luminous cross on its summit, on the very spot where, according to Greek tradition, the tempter had

* Pouqueville, Soutzo.

placed our Lord, when he showed him the kingdoms of the earth, and their glory. A monk of the convent of St Belisarius, in Thessaly, had risen from his grave, and gone about, knocking at the door of each cell, crying, *To battle!* Pilgrims averred on oath, that as, on their return from the Holy Land, they sailed through the Archipelago, they found themselves for several nights in the midst of ships, whence, every quarter of an hour, arose cries of, *Christ conquers! Christ reigns!* (Χρίστος νικά, Χρίστος βασιλεύει.) So similar to itself is human nature at all periods, that we might fancy ourselves at the time of the first crusade, when signs and wonders were believed to have been sent to rouse the nations to arms in the cause of God.

In this state of the public mind, Khoorsheed pasha, in obedience to the reiterated commands of the sultan, left the Morea, which his military skill and probity might possibly have kept in obedience. The people of Patras, harassed by the vexatious impositions which were laid on them, complained of their primates to Khoorsheed's lieutenant in Tripolitza; but this officer, gained by the primates, sent a commissary to Patras, to seize, and bring to him in irons, the three persons who were designated as the instigators of the complaints. Two of these persons having had timely information, escaped to the mountains; the third was taken in his bed on the night of the 11th February, and thrown into the voivode's gaol. Next morning, the people loudly testified their indignation at this ar-

did not release his prisoner, they would
his palace, and then proceed in a body to
litza to justify themselves. A Greek was
to confer with them, but they beat and
killed him; the torches were lighted, some
were fired, when the voivode, terrified,
released the prisoner, complimenting them on
their valour, but at the same time sending to
Khoorsheed pasha of their mutinous
conduct.

Quillity had hardly been restored at Pa-
trien the Lalaotes, incensed at not getting
terms they were used to hire from the go-
vernment on the usual terms, broke out into
rebellion; but instead of turning their arms
against the Turks, they descended from their
mountain, fell on, plundered, and massacred the
helpless Christians of the plain of Elis. They
killed the inhabitants of Calávrita and Gas-
troula and the lieutenant of Khoorsheed pa-
sha being applied to, gave the people of
the towns permission to arm themselves, and



Tebelin. On hearing of the disturbance at Patras, he sent orders that all the authors of it should be forthwith taken up and sent to Tripolitza; and deeming it a business of no importance, he prepared to cross Mount Pindus. In the beginning of March, he appeared, at the head of 20,000 men, in the valley of Jannina. Ali Tebelin fired a salute of twenty-one cannon for him, and wrote to congratulate him on his arrival. Khoorsheed returned the salute, gave Ali, when speaking of him, the title of vizir, and forbade him to be any longer called Kara Ali. He announced that it was as a peace-maker he was come to Epirus; and the following day he sent Mahmood, pasha of Larissa, to treat with Ali.

A letter, addressed by A. Hypsilantis to the Christians of Epirus, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. In this letter they were advised to aid Ali, but in such a manner only as would be for the benefit of their own cause, without any regard to him. Mahmood showed this letter to Ali, and giving him an account of the state of the empire, and the menacing posture maintained by Russia, besought him, on the part of Khoorsheed, to think of a peace, and to prepare to aid against the enemies of Islam. This confidence produced the very opposite effect to that intended on the mind of Ali; he thought that Khoorsheed would be soon obliged to fly to the defence of the capital, and that then, placing himself at the head of the Mohammedan Sheeptars, the Sooliotes, and the armatoles, he might make himself master of Hellas, and that *he might afterwards destroy the two last, and reign without anxiety.* He, therefore, wrote to

any, without any, removal of the army
e should retain for life the pashalik of
a, the coast of Epirus, Acarnania, and
endencies; and, 4thly, An amnesty for
had served him. Khoorsheed replied,
would transmit these terms to the sul-
d that, if Ali desired it, there should be
nsion of hostilities till the return of the
. The vizir, at the same time, opened
tions with the Sooliotes.

very day (March 7) on which Ali sent
posals to the ser-asker, A. Hypsilantis
his first proclamation to the inhabitants
sy. He had been anxious to delay the
on as much as possible; but the He-
, who, it is said, had got the letter of
-effendi transmitted to the Sooliotes by
ged and pressed him, not by any farther
on to be the cause of the massacre of the
race of the Greeks. It was in vain that



apt to confound it with those of Spain and Italy. These reasons were regarded by them as of no avail; they displayed the excited state of Greece and the isles; they showed him letters from the archbishop of Philippopolis and others, offering to raise troops and seize different fortresses;—one from prince Constantine Moorosis, requesting, as a favour, to be allowed to execute the project of the archimandrite Dikaïos;—finally, one from the Hetairia of Constantinople, stating that the Greek population of that city were in such a state of ferment, and conducted themselves so imprudently, that they were already beginning to draw on them the attention of the Ottoman police. On hearing this last letter read, “The die is cast!” cried he; “perish the coward who, seeing his brethren just under the hand of the executioner, would lose time in calculation, and not fly to their aid!”*

He immediately dispatched Xanthos with L.2000 to George† the Olympian, Pharmakis, and Savas; he sent by Perevos to the Morea L.3300 for Mavromichalis and Colocotronis, directing them to raise troops, and be prepared against the approaching spring. He desired his brother Demetrius to hasten to Greece, while himself and his other brothers would remain in the northern provinces to engage the attention of the Ottomans, and give the Greeks time to prepare. From Kishenoff he sent orders to

* Soutzo.—This writer says, that all which he relates respecting A. Hypsilantis, has been derived from his own correspondence, and from the MSS. of several Hetairists.

† Commonly called Georgaki.

which was situated on the hill coming Yassy.

On the 6th March, A. Hypsilantis secretly benighted in the night, and set out for Yassy, accompanied by his brother Nicholas, and a few

Next day he crossed the Pruth, on the 1st he was met at a solitary house by Orfanos with about thirty Hetairists. Taking with him a dozen soldiers, he proceeded in his sledge to Yassy, which he reached in the evening. He alighted at the palace of Cantacuzena, John Colocotronis, and a crowd of Hetairists eagerly surrounded him. "I am come with you," said he, as he embraced them. He went to the house of Jacob Rhizos, where he had an interview with the hospodar, Michael, to whom he exhorted to act with courage, to force the boyards, on the morrow, to permit the protection of Russia.

He knew of the arrival of Hypsilantis, or of

Greece had been the dispenser, wishing them success, and ready to aid them, if they showed themselves worthy of their ancestors, and of the age in which they lived. This proclamation contained the usual quantity of inflation and imprudence common to such revolutionary documents; but one thing seemed certain, namely, that Russia was ready to march against the Ottomans. The young men ran in crowds to enrol themselves under the banners of Hypsilantis, and the hospodar sent him men, horses, arms, and placed all his authority in his hands. Sixty Moham-medans, who had taken refuge in a church, were besieged in it by the people in the first transports of their zeal; they sued for and obtained permission to depart; but, with ordinary Turkish breach of faith, they assassinated Boocovallos, the officer who was sent to escort them, and they were speedily punished for their crime.*

That very evening Hypsilantis wrote to the emperor Alexander, who was then at Laybach, informing him of his entrance into Yassy, of his ulterior projects, and imploring him to aid the Greek cause. The emperor immediately shut himself up with one of his ministers, to consult on this momentous affair. The Austrian cabinet was alarmed; a correspondence between Hypsilantis and the liberals of Paris was fabricated and shown to Alexander, who was thereby induced to disavow the enterprise, "as the effects of the exaltation characteristic of the pre-

* Soutzo, p. 60. — Others say, with perhaps more truth, that the Turks were massacred in cold blood by a Captain Caravia.

sent time, as well as of the levity and inexperience of that young man.”*

Hypsilantis, having restored his power to the hospodar, Michael Soutzo, and left with him a guard of Hetairists, proceeded to Foxani, where a number of young men were waiting to place themselves under his command. He formed them into a corps, to which, in imitation of the ancient Thebans, he gave the name of the Sacred Battalion. The colours worn by them were red, white, and black; their dress was black; on the front of their caps they wore a death's head and crossed bones. The phoenix rising from her ashes was their emblem. Attended by only five hundred men, ill clothed and ill armed, Hypsilantis hastened to Valachia, to take the command of the army of Vladimirescos, consisting of eight thousand Valachians, and of three thousand Albanians, Servians, and Bulgarians, commanded by Savas and George the Olympian. On his arrival, this inconsiderate young man found all in confusion; the boyards had fled; the soldiers were given every license; all were filled with apprehension; Savas and Theodore at variance with each other, and each thinking only of his own interest. Hypsilantis, uncertain how to act, fixed his head-quarters first at Ploesti, and then at Colentina, within half a league of Bucharest.

* In his letter to the emperor Nicholas, Hypsilantis says, “Such, sire, were my plots, and the intrigue of which the Austrian diplomacy made at the time, in the Congress of Laybach, a tissue of horrors and crimes; and when the emperor refused to believe them, the same diplomacy had the singular hardihood to show him a false and fictitious correspondence between me and the liberals of Paris.”

The profligate courtiers of the late hospodar crowded around the young chief; they turned his brain with their flatteries, they kept all honest men at a distance from him, they dragged from him all sorts of places and employments; the spendthrift was made treasurer, an old physician a captain, the mere monied man an aide-de-camp; every one seemed anxious to obtain the post which he was least fit for, ready to abandon it at the first approach of danger.

Like a stroke of thunder came the determination of the emperor of Russia, which was made public by the Austrian consulate at Bucharest. All hopes now fled; those who had been most assiduous in their court to Hypsilantis, were now the first to leave him. His friend, Michael Soutzo, was waited on at Yassy by the boyards, with Benjamin, their metropolitan, at their head, and invited to retire; and on the night of the 11th April, he and his family set out for Bessarabia. Like Hypsilantis, Soutzo was a well-intentioned, inexperienced young man; like him, too, he afterwards became the victim of Austrian tyranny, having been seized as he was on his way to Italy, and confined at Goritz, in Carinthia.

The unfortunate Hypsilantis seems to have been cruelly deceived in the expectations which he was led to form. He had embarked in the enterprise in confident reliance on the open support of Russia; and such, perhaps, was the sincere intention of Alexander, till he was deceived or neutralized by Austria, the determined foe of liberty in all parts of the world. The *Hetairists*, taking perhaps their wishes for realities,

had assured him that Servia and Bulgaria were ready to rise in arms, and that the fortresses of the Danube would surrender at his approach; that the flame of insurrection would burst forth at once over the whole of European Turkey. But the disavowal of him by the Russian autocrat was as a spell to dissolve all these illusions, and Hypsilantis soon perceived that he was lost. Servia, at the voice of Austria, remained tranquil; the Bishop of Philippopolis was anticipated and massacred by the Turks; the police found out and counteracted the plot of Dikaïos; his army was a heterogeneous rabble, without discipline or subordination; Savas and Vladimirescos, thinking only of their own interest, were ready to desert and betray him; and he laboured in vain to persuade the latter that the cause of the Greeks and that of the Valachians were the same.

In his present state of uncertainty, he at one time meditated to cross the Danube, and endeavour to make his way through the mountains to Epirus, and join the Greeks who were there in arms. The impracticability of this project forced him to abandon it, and to wait his fate in Valachia. He removed his headquarters to Tergovist, twenty-four leagues north of Bucharest, where he surrounded his camp with a palisade, and endeavoured to give some discipline to his troops; he ordered his brother Nicholas to take the command of the strong natural defences of Kimpoloonghi, and he sent Cantacuzena to place himself at the head of the insurgents in Moldavia.

The first intelligence of the insurrection in the

trans-Danubian provinces had terrified the Porte, who naturally apprehended that it was the work of Russia; but, reassured by the declaration published by that power, the Ottoman ministry resolved on vigorous and immediate measures. Directions were sent to the pasha of Silistria to cross without delay the Danube, with 8000 or 10,000 men; to the pasha of Vidin to enter Little Valachia; and to the pasha of Ibraïla to march into Moldavia. Early in May these armies, 30,000 strong, put themselves in motion.

Meantime, the insurrection had broken out in the Morea, and numerous executions had taken place at Constantinople.

The order sent to Patras by the kaïmakan of Khoorsheed-pasha, was immediately followed by another *boyoordi*, or order, to the following effect:—

“ We, kaïmakan of the mighty Moreh Valesi Khoorsheed-pasha, (to whom God grant prosperity and a happy end!) by the advice of our great council, order you, archbishops, bishops, coja-bashees, and notables, Rhomæans of the towns and villages of the Morea, to arise, on receiving the noble firman which we address to you, and to transfer yourselves immediately to our residence at Tripolitza, to enjoy there the incomparable happiness of the protection which we will grant you, and the contemplation of our magnificent power. We enjoin the rayas who live beneath the shadow of the golden wings of our glorious monarch, instantly to lay down their arms, to give up those which *they possess* to our voivodes, without raising *their heads*, which they are permitted to keep .

order of the kaïmakan was in accordance with a resolution adopted by the divan, of the Greek population, whose disaffection they had learned, and whose numbers were reduced. The entire population of the Morea was estimated at 400,000 souls, of which not more than a fifth were Turkish, so that there were abundant grounds for apprehension at this war period. Similar orders were sent all over the Morea, and the bishops of Corinth, Malvasia, and the son of the bey of Tripoli and several of the primates of Corinth, Caritena, and other places, repaired to Constantinople, which but three of them were desired to leave.

Ioannis, archbishop of Patras, an adroit, brave, and politic prelate, left his see at night, the beginning of March, accompanied by the monks, to proceed to Tripolitza, whither they were summoned. It is probable that the plan



effects to the citadel. Many of the more timid of the Greeks quitted the place; others hastened to place their goods in safety, judging that it was the design of the Turks to destroy the town.

On arriving at Calavrita, of which the population was principally Christian, Germanos assembled the primates, and assured them that it would be manifest self-destruction for them to go on to Tripolitza. He gave it as his opinion that they should stop short, and write to Constantinople, to give a colour to their refusal, and to gain time. It was decided to write to the prelates, clergy, and primates of the other towns, to be on their guard, and to prepare themselves for coming events. The archbishop then set out for the convent of Mega Spileon, whence, after passing there but one night, he proceeded to a convent of Laurian monks, on Mount Erymanthus. He was here immediately surrounded by 1500 armed peasants of Mount Cyllene, whom, as is said, the primates of Calavrita had enrolled two months before, to defend them against the robberies of the Lalaotes. Germanos begged of their captains to place them in ambush in the wood about the convent, and he told them that the Turks of Calavrita, having vainly chased the Christian inhabitants of that town, who had taken refuge in the mountains, would, before sunset, arrive at the convent in quest of him, but that if they rose with the cry of "Victory of God!" the infidels would take to flight.

This prophecy was accomplished. In the evening, sixty men on horseback came within sight of the convent on which Germanos had reared the standard of the cross: the Christians showed

themselves: the cry of *Victory of God!* rang through the mountains, and the Turks at once turned and fled. Arrived at Calavrita, they quitted it again in the night, and at the break of day went to Vostitza, the ancient Ægium. All was silent and deserted; at length the sight of smoke rising from some of the houses made them suspect that their brethren were concealed in their dwellings for fear of the Greeks. To reassure them, one ascended the minaret of a mosque, and gave the *ezzan*, or call to prayer. Immediately the Turks left their retreats and came forth. The Greeks, they said, had left the town and retired to the hills, whence they had expected them every moment to descend to destroy them. Sixty of them mounted their horses, and, with those of Calavrita, rode to the port, where they seized some boats, and made sail for Lépanto. The Greeks, who saw them depart, came down from the mountains, and took possession of both Calavrita and Vostitza; they imprisoned the *cadi*, the *voivode*, and from two to three hundred Turks whom they found in the former, which they strengthened and made a place of retreat; the latter, whose situation exposed it to the march of the Turkish armies, they abandoned, its inhabitants retiring to Calavrita.

Germanos, who was speedily informed of all that had occurred, assembled the consistory, which he had summoned, and in a long speech laid before them the state of things, and the position in which they were now placed. He assured them of the justice of their cause; but at the same time impressed on them the conviction that *it was idle for them to hope for assistance from*

any of the European powers, and that, under heaven, it was to their own valour that they must look for salvation: that, finally, *Death or Victory* must now be the word, for that with the Turk they could no more have concord. On the following day he collected the people, to the number of 5000, on an eminence, where, having ascertained that they had confessed their sins to the fathers of the different monasteries, he pronounced a general absolution, and then celebrated the holy sacrament on an altar of turf. When this important ceremony was over, he sent round the deacons, to inform the people that he released them from the obligation of keeping the Lent. He gave himself the first example of breaking the fast, saying, that as both their lives and religion were at stake, they must take the food necessary to give them strength to defend them.

While the insurrection was thus commencing in the Morea, the Turks had thrown away all prospects of tranquillizing Epirus. The Soothote deputies who had gone to Prevesa, left it on the 26th March, without effecting any thing. The terms offered having been, that, instead of possessing *autonomy*, they should be pardoned, and, like the islanders of the White Sea, be considered as rayas of the Sultan, depending on the capitan-pasha; and that if within four days they did not send twenty hostages, hostilities should be renewed. The reply given to Ali Pasha was, to lay down his arms, and to repair within twenty-four hours to the door of the tent of *Khoorsheed-pasha*, who engaged (merely his word) to send him honourably to Constantinople,

where he would be admitted to justify himself before the resplendent majesty of the glorious Sultan. The old satrap, who knew well what the usual effect of the Sultan's refulgence on rebellious pashas was, replied by volleys of cannon. He wrote immediately to the Sooliotes, giving them up Kiapha, and making them a present of all the provisions and stores contained in it; and the thunders of the artillery of Kiapha speedily announced to Thesprotia, that the warriors of Sooli were once more masters of the home of their fathers.*

CHAPTER XL

Affairs at Patras—Approach of Germanos—he retires—Spread of the Insurrection—Rising in Livadia—Disturbances at Constantinople—Execution of Moroosis—of the Patriarch Gregory—Affairs in Valachia—Death of Vladimirescos—Defeat of Hypsilantis at Nootgesti—Battle of Dragatsan—Bravery of Athanasius the Ætolian—A. Hypsilantis crosses the frontier, and is thrown into prison in Hungary—Death of George the Olympian.

ON the 4th of April, the Turks of Patras, finding the insurrection exploding everywhere around them, deemed it prudent to retire, with their families, into the citadel. They previously set fire to the house of one of the primates, named Papa-Diamantópoolos: the conflagration rapidly extended; a large number of the inha-

* Pouqueville. The letter of Ali bears date March 20, O. S.

bitants took refuge in the consulate of France, others fled out of the town, on which the Turks kept up a constant fire from the castle. The following day the flames still continued to spread, and the fire from the castle was continued, a constant discharge of musketry being kept up at the same time by the Greeks. Most of the European consuls judged it advisable to seek safety on board of the vessels in the roads, as the conflagration was spreading more and more, the Greeks having in retaliation set fire to the quarter of the Turks.

On the 6th, parties of the Greek peasantry came in from the country, shouting *Death to the Turks!* The standard of the cross was raised on the mosques above the crescent; and all the Turkish children which had been taken by these fanatics, were baptized by the priests. The aqueducts which supplied the town were broken. The conflagration, which had been decreasing, was revived; the approach of Germanos was announced; and the primates of Vostitza, preceded by five Turkish heads, appeared as his harbingers.

Germanos was in fact on his march for Patras, at the head of 10,000 peasants, collected in the mountains. None of these were completely armed. As is usual in sudden insurrections of the kind, their arms were of various sorts and qualities. Some had fowlingpieces, others daggers on the end of poles, stakes pointed and hardened in the fire, sickles, scythes, pitchforks, and other rustic implements. At a little distance from the town, Germanos made them halt to take food and repose; and, divided into par-

ties according to their villages, they made a frugal repast on bread and onions. The politic prelate, the second Mattathias, as he has been styled, whose great object it was to make the war one of religion, then put on his pontifical vestments, entered a solitary chapel, prostrated himself before the altar, and made a confession of his own and the people's sins, praying to the Almighty to put away discord from among them. Having performed this imposing office, he pronounced the absolution of the people, who lay prostrate before the cross. The doxology of the *Trisagion* was loudly chanted by the monks of Mega Spileon, and repeated by the multitude. The fires were lighted, and sentinels set.

Early the next morning Germanos put his hands in motion, and they entered the town, where they were received with loud acclamations by their compatriots. The archbishop immediately published the following proclamation: "*Peace to the Christians—protection to the consuls of foreign powers—war to the Turks!*" This was succeeded by a manifesto,* addressed to the

* It was to this effect:—

" March 26, (O. S.) 1821.

" The Hellenes, given up to the daily increasing oppression of the Ottomans, have unanimously resolved to conquer or to die. We have risen to recover our rights. We are convinced that the Christian powers will recognise the justice of our cause, and that they will lend us their aid, recollecting the services done to humanity by our ancestors. We, therefore, beseech you to procure us the benevolent protection of your august monarchs.

" Germanos, archbishop of Patras ; Procopius, bishop of Calavrita ; Andrew Zaïnis ; Andrew Londres ; Benisellos Koophos, *Papa-Diamantopoulos* ; Sotiraki."

consuls, and subscribed by the archbishop and the principal primates who were with him, announcing their resolution to regain their liberties, or die in the attempt. The Greeks immediately began to change their ordinary raya costume for the Russian dress ; caps, blue and white colours, and cockades, were exhibited ; the flames which were subsiding were renewed ; the Turks recommenced the firing from the castle ; all again was tumult and confusion, and the various oil stores having been set fire to by the Greeks, the flames soon rose with tenfold violence ; while plunder and devastation were going on on all sides.

Germanos had hoped that the Turks of Patras would, like those of Calavrita and Vostitza, have fled at the approach of his disorderly bands. Disappointed in this expectation, he and his council of primates spread all kinds of rumours of revolts in Thessaly and elsewhere, and of troops coming to their aid, to keep up the zeal and the courage of their men. But, in the meantime, Yoosoof-pasha, who had left the army of Khoorsheed, to take possession of the pashalic of Negropont, to which he had been appointed, hearing of the insurrection at Patras, had halted at Mesolonghi. He had then advanced to the Little Dardanelles of Lépanto, had crossed over, and was now waiting in the Castle of the Morea.

The archbishop, on hearing of the approach of Yoosoof-pasha, ordered the batteries of small iron cannon, which he had constructed, to *be opened to play on the castle.* But the calibre of his artillery was not such as to make it of

any avail ; and even had a breach been effected, the Greeks had not yet the courage to mount it. Their mode of fighting was to conceal themselves behind pieces of walls and trees, and to run out of shot to re-load their pieces. On the 15th, at three o'clock in the morning, Patras felt another shock of an earthquake, and two hours afterwards, Yoosoof-pasha and three hundred men entered the castle.

Fame having greatly augmented the number of the troops of Yoosoof-pasha, and a Turkish brig of war having anchored off Patras, Germanos and the primates took to flight, followed by all their men. The unfortunate Patreans fled to the shore, where there were forty-two small vessels at anchor, and crowded on board of them. The consuls of France, Austria, and Spain, afforded an asylum in their houses to a number of families who could not fly. The Turks issued next morning from the castle, massacred all the Greeks whom they met, and set fire to such parts of the town as had been as yet uninjured. In a few days, most of the inhabitants had been conveyed away by the humanity of the above-mentioned consuls ; and as the Turks had learned that circumstances had occurred which might prevent them speedily receiving succours, and the fires on Mount Panachæicos told them that Germanos and his army were there ready to fall on them when an opportunity should offer, they began to conduct themselves with some moderation.

By this time, the insurrection was not confined to Achæa. The Maniotes, on hearing of the events at *Calavrita* and *Vostitza*, had flown

to arms, and massacred the Turks who dwelt in the villages of the valley of the Eurotas. A heroine, named Constantia Zacharias,* whose father had been impaled as a robber at Tripolitza in 1799, hoisted a flag on her house, and proclaimed revolt to the peasants. The bishop of Helas hastened to join her, and give his blessing to her enterprise. Having driven the Turks into the castle of Mistrá, she led her men up the Eurotas as far as Londári, where she killed the voivode, and burnt his house. The flames spread into Messenia; Peter Mavromicháli came down from the steep of Taygetus with his Eleathero-Lacones, and occupied Calamata, where a senate assembled under his presidency, and issued, on the 9th April, a manifesto, addressed to the powers of Christendom, setting forth the justice of the Greek cause, and calling on them for aid. The effect of this manifesto was prodigious; the priests went about everywhere exciting the people to arms, and their call was everywhere obeyed with alacrity. The universality of the insurrection electrified the Turks; they hardly anywhere ventured on resistance, but hastened to seek refuge in the fortified places.†

Livadia also was now in revolt. The *kiaya* of the pasha of Eubœa, left there to levy the heavy tax imposed on the Christian inhabitants, had held their primates now a month in prison.

* Pouqueville, ii. p. 351.

† There are nine fortresses in the Morea. Patras, Morea, and Corinth, in the north; Napoli di Romania and Malvasia in the east; Modon and Coron on the south; Navarino on the west; Tripolitza in the centre.

Diakos, the proto-palicare of Odysseus, collected 300 men in the mountains of Doris, determined to take vengeance on the oppressors. The kiaya immediately sent his brother off with his treasure to Eubœa, issued the order for the disarming of the Christians, and set a price on the head of Diakos. Little heeding the menaces of the kiaya, the brave palicare descended from his mountains, laid an ambush near Thebes, and soon conveyed the kiaya's brother, and all his baggage, into the woods of Parnassus. The kiaya menaced the captive primates with death if his brother was not set at liberty; they wrote to inform Diakos of their situation, who agreed to exchange his Turkish prisoner against them, which exchange was effected in the ancient Daulis.

The kiaya hastened to quit Livadia, in which he did not consider himself any longer safe, and secure himself in Negropont. Diakos, who had heard of his having put some Christians to death before his departure, lay in wait for him at the bridge of the Permessus, and cut him, his brother, and 130 Turkish horsemen, to pieces. The primates then collected upwards of 6000 peasants, informed them of the rising in the Morea, and having exalted their enthusiasm, led them to Livadia, where they massacred all the Mohammedans there, to the number of 2000. In the space of a fortnight, there was scarce a single Mohammedan remaining in all Livadia. Odysseus roused the tribes of Mount Ceta and its vicinity to arms; other persons were active in other quarters; the priests, more especially, exerted *themselves to excite the people*; the cross

was everywhere displayed, and the war-songs of Rhigas were everywhere heard.

Procopius, bishop of Calavrita, whom Germanos had sent into Elis, had raised the standard of the cross at Gastooni, and called on the Christians to take arms in the cause of their religion and their country. But fear of the Turks chilled the zeal of the Elians, and they hesitated to yield obedience to his exhortations. The ardent prelate then ordered the papas to retire to Mount Olenos with the pictures and consecrated bread, while his men set fire to the town. The people followed their pastors; Procopius went through the plain exhorting the peasants to burn their cottages, and the whole population retired to the mountains with their families and their agricultural implements.*

Such of the Moreotes as still hesitated, were soon called upon to decide, for a proclamation was issued by Yoosoof-pasha, announcing that no pardon was to be obtained, no hope to be cherished of escaping Turkish vengeance. A prudent amnesty (if a Turk knew what prudence meant) might have induced even the most bold to pause; this sanguinary manifesto infused the courage of despair into even the most timid. Germanos took advantage of it; his energetic discourses called on the people to arouse themselves and fling off the yoke of their tyrants. All the Morea, except the Argolis and Corinth, was now in open revolt; the Turks were besieged in their fortresses; Germanos moved his head-quarters to the Convent of St

* Pouqueville, ii. 394.

Omblos, within two leagues of Patras. The Christians celebrated Easter within view of the Turks, and the mountains rung with the joyful sounds of the paschal salutation *Χριστός ἀνίστην*, *Christ is risen*.

Very different was the Easter of the Christian inhabitants of the capital. When the first intelligence arrived of the insurrections beyond the Danube and in the Morea, the sophtas (*students*) issued from their medressis (*colleges*), and went about exciting the fanaticism of the people, by crying that the faith was in danger; the preachers in the mosques lent their aid to inflame the populace, who, with loud cries, demanded the destruction of the Greeks in the capital, a call to which Mahmood was not indisposed to give effect. In a khati-sheriff, issued the 30th March, the Sultan declared Islam to be endangered by the revolt, which he regarded as general, and called on all faithful Mussulmans to resume the warlike manners of their fathers, as the only means of preserving it.

The Sultan next obliged Gregory, the patriarch of Constantinople, to launch the thunders of the church against A. Hypsilantis and all his adherents, as also against Michael Soutzo and his partisans. The Baron Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador, at the same time most explicitly disowned A. Hypsilantis on the part of his court.

Whether the plan of a rising of the Greeks of the capital was real or feigned,* the divan

* M. de Pouqueville derides the idea of the existence of this conspiracy—(by the way, he extends his scepticism

affected to give credit to it, and the reports of stores of arms and ammunition being laid up in the churches and the houses of the opulent Greeks, which were circulated by the agents of government, contributed to keep up the alarm and the fanaticism of the Turkish population. Their fears, however, for the capital, did not prevent the government from ordering several *ortas* (regiments) of janizaries to march for Valachia, and embarking a large body of *Lazes** for Galatsi and the plains of Bulgaria, on the Black Sea. At the same time, the principal Valachians and Moldavians resident at Constantinople were seized and put to death, as belonging to a country in rebellion, and their properties confiscated. The Greeks, expecting their turn to come next, began to leave the capital. Some sought refuge in the Isles of Princes, others,

to that of Catiline, that of the Marquis Bedomar, and the Gunpowder Plot)—on the grounds of the good sense and want of means of the Greeks of the capital. The population of Constantinople and its suburbs, he says, is 700,000,000, of whom the Greeks form but 60,000. The number of janizaries in the capital was, he says, 150,000, of whom 20,000 were always on duty, who, with the topjees, silihdars, sipahis, bostanjees, &c. &c., composed a force of 34,800 men, ready to act at a moment's notice, to say nothing of the rest of the Turkish population. This may very well suffice to show that the insurrection, if attempted, could not have succeeded, but it will by no means prove that it was not planned. M. Soutzo, who had the means of being better informed than M. Ponqueville, and who did not publish his work till last year (1829), makes no doubt whatever of the actual existence of the conspiracy.

* The *Lazes* are a tribe of Caucasus, who form a part of the Turkish armies.

more timid, directed their course to Odessa. The police became extremely strict, and the Greeks were prohibited from leaving their houses after sunset, either that they might not escape, or that the government was really apprehensive.

On the 15th April, the Lazes, intended for Galatsi, landed at Boojook-Deri, a village on the Bosphorus, four leagues from the capital. They fell on and massacred all the Greeks whom they met, attacked the palace of the ambassador of Spain, broke open and plundered a church; the villages and hamlets round Constantinople were all set on fire, the tumult extended to the capital, the firing of musketry was incessant; the Greeks, when seen on the land or the water, were put to death, or thrown into dungeons; the European ministers and their suites ran the most imminent risk of their lives and properties. The government made no effort to check these excesses till the 19th, when a corps of 300 janizaries were sent to Boojook-Deri to the protection of the Russian ambassador, and large bodies of troops were employed to disperse the rabble, who were spreading terror through the capital.

On Good Friday a divan was held, at which the Vizier Azem (*grand vizir*) presided; the members were informed of the different revolts, and their opinions taken whether it was not justifiable to execute, without enquiry, those concerned in it, be their rank what it might. The mufti declined giving an immediate answer, the other members professed the most implicit sub-

mission to the wisdom of the Vizier Azem ; and the council broke up at eight o'clock in the morning.

The evening before, as Prince Constantine Moroosis, the chief dragoman (*interpreter*) of the Porte, was on his way to the Seraglio, a stranger slipped into his hand a letter from A. Hypsilantis. When he reached his office, he opened and read it ; fearing it might be some plot laid for him by his enemies, he judged it his best course to show it at once to the reis-effendi (*minister for foreign affairs*), and hastened to that minister, who took him immediately to the Grand Vizir. Here Moroosis told all that he knew about the letter ; and both ministers declaring themselves perfectly satisfied, and expressing their opinion that the Sultan would be so likewise, Moroosis retired tolerably free from apprehension.

Next day, as he was going to a conference between the Russian minister and the Porte, he was handed a letter from the reis-effendi, desiring to see him. " Unhappy Prince," said the minister, " you are calumniated. I know that nothing can be laid to your charge. Why cannot I justify you in the eyes of the Sultan, and save you from the danger which menaces you ! Go instantly to the kiaya-beg (*minister of the interior*), and prove your innocence to him. May the great and merciful God assist you in this unhappy affair !" As he quitted the office of the minister, Moroosis was seized by the executioners, dragged before the alai kiosk, forced to kneel down, and wait for half an hour in *agony* the arrival of the inhuman Mahmood. The Sultan at length appeared, made a sign,

and the head of Constantine Moroosis rolled on the earth.

The night before Easter day, the Patriarch Gregory left, according to ancient usage, the Episcopal residence, and proceeded, accompanied by his clergy and other attendants, to the cathedral church of St Nicholas. The solemn mass was chanted as usual; the procession left the church, and was returning to the palace, when a troop of janizaries seized the principal members of the clergy, and dragging the venerable patriarch to his palace, hanged him at his own gate. The prison of the bostanjee-bashee received the unhappy companions of Gregory, of whom ten were members of the synod, among whom were the Archbishops of Anchialus, Ephesus, and Nicomedia, and ten proto-papas attached to the service of the patriarch; and, after being tortured, they were hanged at the gates of the different churches. The bodies remained suspended for three days, at the end of which time a troop of Jews were ordered to drag them through the streets, and fling them into the sea.

The Christian legations met at Pera, and sent to demand an explanation of this unprecedented conduct from the Sultan. The answer they received was, "The Sultan, an absolute and independent sovereign, gives no account of his conduct to any one; he has deemed that he might punish, as he has done, subjects who conspired against his authority, which he holds of God, to whom alone he is responsible for his actions."*

* Mahmood had, however, before proceeding to this unusual stretch of power, caused search to be made after precedents. *It was found that, in the reign of Moham-*

180 MASSACRE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

On the receipt of this answer, the Russian ambassador retired to Booyook-Deri, resolved to hold no further intercourse with the Ottoman Porte.

During two months, blood streamed daily in Constantinople, and the sea of Marmora was filled with floating corpses : no age or sex was spared ; the noblest and wealthiest families were slaughtered or banished ; the Archbishops of Adrianople, Chalcedon, Berda, Brusa, and three others, were hanged before their houses ; the prisons were filled with victims ; the churches were plundered and desecrated, or burnt ; the estates of such persons as had been fortunate enough to make their escape, were confiscated. The question of exterminating the Greek population throughout the empire, was again discussed in the divan ; the mufti opposed it, and his opinion prevailed ; but he was shortly afterwards deposed from his office. It has been asserted,* that the number of the Greeks massacred in the capital amounted to 30,000. In this divan, held on the 20th April, the disarming of all the *ra-yas* throughout the empire was resolved on, and orders to that effect were dispatched to the governors of the provinces.

The Sultan, anxious to conciliate the Christian ambassadors, had, a few days previously to holding this divan, disgraced and exiled the grand

med IV. and the viziriat of Kluperli, two patriarchs had been put to death in prison ; and that, on another occasion, the vicar-general of the Latin church had been publicly hanged, under pretext of his having corresponded with the Pope.—*Pouqueville*, ii. 437.

* *Soutzo*, p. 69.

vizir Benderly, as the author of all the evils which had taken place; and those ministers were not at all displeased at a decent pretext for resuming their functions.

We now return to Valachia.

The pashas of Silistria and Ibraïla set forward in the end of April; blood as usual marked their course; the peasants were massacred or impaled; the children hung by the heels from the trees on the road-side. The latter of these commanders, after a brave defence made by the Ætolian Athanasius, took Galety, with a loss of 900 men; the former, without firing a shot, entered Bucharest.

While the Turkish forces were thus advancing, all was joy and festivity at Tergovist. Vague reports of the great reinforcements speedily to be brought by Prince Demetrius Hypsilantis were spread, to dispel doubts and uneasiness; but, except by the Sacred Battalion, all discipline was neglected by the disorderly bands of Hypsilantis. So little precaution was adopted, that the Turkish spies constantly frequented the camp and the town. The money supplied by the friends of the Greek cause was wasted in the most lavish profusion.

When the Turks entered Bucharest, Savas, who had 2000 Albanians under his command, proceeded to Tergovist, and encamped about half a league from where A. Hypsilantis was posted. He here employed every stratagem to get an opportunity of assassinating him; and when he had failed in all his attempts, he flung off the mask, and declared openly for the Turks.

Theodore Vladimirescos also took the side of

the Turks ; and, to gain favour in their eyes, taking with him 2000 Valachians, and 500 Albanian horse, he set out for Kimpoloonghi, with the intention of surprising Nicholas Hypsilantis, and cutting his small force to pieces. George the Olympian followed, and came up with him at Golisti. " Voivode," said he, " dismount ; we have some affairs to settle." Theodore obeyed ; they proceeded towards a shady tree, under which one of the Albanians spread a carpet for them to sit on. When they were alone, George reproached him with his ingratitude to himself, who had raised him from nothing, made him a member of the Hetairia, and aided him with his counsel and his arm. Theodore, in confusion, confessed that he had been seduced by Austria, with the hopes of the hospodar of Valachia ; but that he sincerely repented, and would shed the last drop of his blood for the cause of the Greeks. George embraced him, and said, " Come, follow me to the camp of A. Hypsilantis ; ask thy pardon ; I will intercede for thee." He accompanied him towards the camp ; but on the way, George, finding that he still corresponded with the Turks, arrested him, and sent him to Tergovist. Hypsilantis had him tried by a court-martial, by which he was found guilty. As the soldiers of Theodore threatened to desert, he feared to have him executed publicly, and therefore gave the warrant to Gerasimo Orfanos, who, in the dead of the night, conducted him into an adjacent forest. They stopped before a pit which a Servian was engaged in digging. An Albanian stepped forward, armed with a cutlass, and said to Vladimirescos, " Pray to God."

—"Kill me rather with a pistol," said he, covering his face. He fell dead into the pit, and stones and pieces of trees were heaped on him.*

The Turks, having learned the feeble state of the army of Hypsilantis, advanced with 6000 men against him. Their advanced guard, of 2000 men, attacked John Colocotronis, at the monastery of Nootgesti. Hypsilantis ordered Orfanos to fall on the flank of the enemy, and Constantine Ducas to take him in the rear, while he remained himself in reserve, ready to charge the Turks in the heat of the action. These dispositions being made, the engagement commenced. Colocotronis and Orfanos fought boldly, and the Turks seemed disposed to give way, when Ducas, seized with a fit of cowardice, called to his men to fall back: he gave, himself, the example of flight; the panic spread; in vain Hypsilantis sought to check the fugitives; no one would attend to his voice. At Vacarest he rallied the remains of his army, and fell back to Pitesti. Putting the Sacred Battalion† under the

* Soutzo. Others give a somewhat different account of this affair.

† The Sacred Battalion was composed of 333 young men, full of courage and enthusiasm. The sufferings they underwent may be conceived from the following extract from a letter of D. Soutzo, one of their commanders, written a few days before his death:—

"My feet are all blistered; I have been without shoes these some days; I sleep in fetid marshes, and live on fruit, and now and then a bit of dry bread. But these privations are agreeable. This adventurous life is pleasing to me. From my childhood I thought of nothing but of the day of our independence. I find myself, for the first time, at the head of freemen, who do not overwhelm me

command of his brother, he took 1500 select men with him, and set out to attack a detachment of 2000 Turks at Dragatsan; he sent a small party of Albanians to cut off the communication between that place and the main body of the Turkish army in Little Valachia. Having then strictly charged his officers not to risk a general engagement, but to amuse the enemy by skirmishing, he went to visit the adjacent posts.

Next day, Karavias, negligent of orders, took a hundred men with him, and presented himself before the gates of Dragatsan; the Turks came out and surrounded him. Nicholas Hypsilantis, with the Sacred Battalion, and George the Olympian, advanced to his aid, but found him defeated. N. Hypsilantis drew the battalion up in two lines, with a few hundred Albanians on their flanks. The Turks advanced; extended their wings, in order to outflank the Greeks; the Valachian cannoneers quitted their guns and deserted; the Albanians turned their horses round and fled; the Turks pressed on; the inexperienced enthusiasts who composed the battalion were easily thrown into confusion. The four commanders, Demetrius Soutzo, Dracoolis of Ithaca, Lucas, and Andronicos, the standard-bearer Xenophon, twenty-five officers, and a number of others fell, crying, "The Greeks never yield!" The remainder saved themselves in the woods and thickets about Dragatsan. N. Hypsilantis, almost alone, cut his way through the

with idle titles, who give me the delightful name of brother," &c. &c. — Soutzo, p. 79.

Turks ; his brother, on learning the defeat of his army, retired to the monastery of Kosia.

At Kosia, A. Hypsilantis learned that all was over in Moldavia. Cantacuzena had distributed his men in small parties, keeping with him only 600 men, commanded by Athanasius the Ætolian. When he heard that the Turks had entered Yassy, he crossed the Pruth, under pretext of conferring with the Russian officers ; but he never returned, and Athanasius was left to Providence and his own valour.

Athanasius was posted at a village named Stinga, on the right bank of the Pruth, opposite the Russian lazaretto, when he heard of the approach of a corps of the Turks to attack him. He began to throw up some hasty intrenchments, resting on the river ; the third side was not completed when the Turks came, and attacked him on that very side. He held them in check the entire day. Next morning the combat was renewed with increased fury. The Turks were forced to attack the intrenchments sword in hand, the Russians having sent to inform them, that “ the balls which would reach them would kill the neutrality.” Three Russian regiments drawn up on the farther bank, animated by their acclamations the gallant defence of the Greeks. In the evening, Athanasius, finding himself wounded, one half of his men killed, and his ammunition all spent, plunged, followed by his remaining men, into the Pruth, and swam to the other side, where they were received with open arms by the admiring Russians. The loss of the Turks is stated at 950 *men*.

A. Hypsilantis, having abandoned all hopes of success, and having issued (as he was too fond of doing) an inflated proclamation, in which he reproached his troops with their cowardice and treachery, passed the frontier with his brothers and four others, in reliance on the assurance of the Austrian colonel, Schwind, that he would be permitted to pass to Hamburg to embark for America. But a close confinement in the castle of Mongatz was what awaited him, and he died three years afterwards, the victim of Austrian cruelty and breach of faith.

The character of A. Hypsilantis was an ordinary one. He was brave, frank, and open; but vain, and ignorant of human nature. Hence he was the dupe of knaves, and the victim of treachery. His raising the standard of revolt with such feeble means, was, taken in itself, an act little short of madness; but it should be recollected that he reckoned with full confidence on the aid of Russia. That power has always made the Greeks the victims of her policy; and whatever misfortunes were brought on them by the untimely insurrection in Valachia, should be laid to the charge of the Emperor, who fed the unfortunate Hypsilantis with fallacious hopes.

Before we quit Valachia, we must relate the exploits of George of Olympus. After the unfortunate affair of Dragatsan, he collected 1400 men, with whom, during five months, he incessantly harassed the Turks. He effected his retreat into Moldavia, and fixed himself in the mountains of Vrantza to the west of Forean. *His men were now reduced to 1000, but he never hesitated to lead them against six or seven times*

sedack. Every effort was made to get
t of the country, for the number of Turks
y him was so great, as to give room for
ggerated statement of its amounting to
. The Austrian consul at Yassy proposed
itate his passage to the Russian territory,
orge declared that he would remain where
, as his object was to shed the blood of
emies of his country, not to save his own
At length the Bishop of Romano laid a
or him ; he wrote to implore him to come,
ve the town of Yassy from the petty
h garrison who were in it, and who met
t with conflagration. The generous war-
eyed the call ; but when he came within
eagues of Yassy, he found himself sur-
d by 10,000 Turks, commanded by two
. After a bloody conflict, he effected his
to the convent of Seco. Leaving the de-
f the intrenchments to the brave Farmaki,
e his men carry him up to the belfry of the
t, whence he might command a view of



shas approached at the same timé, and confirmed these promises by an oath on the head of the Sultan. Farmaki and his men believed and surrendered, and were sent, bound hand and foot, to Constantinople, to suffer an ignominious death. George, who was on the belfry with eight of his trustiest companions, addressed them to this effect: "My friends, I know the Turks; nothing is sacred with them, and you know it as well as I; let us then die with honour, and free." They embraced, set fire to the powder, and died the death of the brave.*

CHAPTER XII.

State of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara—Anthony Œconomos—Declaration of the Hydraotes—Tombasis chosen Admiral—Insurrection of Attica—Justice of the Greek cause—Conduct of the Christian powers—Strength of the belligerent parties.

WHILE the Greeks of the mainland were everywhere either in arms or meditating insurrection, the islanders were not inattentive to the voice of their country and the name of liberty.

As we have already observed, the circumstances of Europe had given a great impetus to the progress of the Greek marine. A population of 35,000 persons were accumulated on the

* Raybaud, l. 250, *et seq.* Dr Walsh (Narrative, &c., p. 256) says he saw Georgaki executed at Constantinople. Perhaps it was Farmaki.

ly. The island was governed by a senate,
ed over by an elective chief, chosen for life
mong their captains, and confirmed by the
. The only tribute which they gave was, the
service and support of 500 men of their
rs, to navigate the fleet with which the
i-pasha went round to collect the tribute
isles. The president of Hydra had a
of fifty men; an impost of two per cent
import of goods sufficed for the support
government and the public institutions.
isle of Spetzia (the ancient Tiparanus),
[ydra and Ipsara, another sterile spot, ad-
to the fertile Chios, resembled Hydra in
val prosperity. They paid the same kind
ute to the Porte, who dignified them all
ie name Refulides, or Auxiliaries. The
of Ipsara was governed by a tetrarchy of
ersons, each of whom kept a part of the



by the agent of Ali, was merely a stratagem to cause coolness and suspicion between them and the Osmanlis. But letters from Prevesa now came, informing them, that as soon as the Turks had heard of the affairs of Patras, they had murdered several of the Hydraote mariners, and sent the remainder to work as rowers on board of the flotilla launched into the lake of Jannina, to oppose that of Ali. In the midst of their grief and consternation, a vessel came to them from the tetrarchs of Ipsara, (which island and Spetzia had already raised the standard of the cross,) to inform them of the divan having come to the resolution of disarming the Greeks, and calling on them to decide, and not to suffer them to be stript of the 400 pieces of cannon and 60,000 muskets which they had procured by their industry and their economy.

While the Hydraote senate was engaged in deliberation, a man, named Antony Œconomos, of a turbulent and daring temper, like the demagogues of old times, appeared in the public square, and, collecting a crowd around him, and stamping on the rocky ground, cried, “ ’Tis we who have turned these stones to gold, by braving the elements and the Algerines—’tis we, who, by spending our lives in these vessels, have raised these marble palaces in which these wealthy sluggards repose—’tis we who have brought hither the gold of Mexico and Peru ! Let them then pour it out of the cisterns in which they accumulate it. What do we wait for ? All Greece is in arms ! ” Shouts of “ Long live Antony Œconomos ! Down with the rich ! *Death or liberty !* ” followed this address. The

d of revolt against the Sultan and the
s was raised ; the treasures of the Con-
is, the Tombasis, and other wealthy Hy-
, which were afterwards so nobly spent
common cause, were on the eve of be-
the prey of the rabble, when the sea-
energy of one man checked the evil.

Economos was marching in triumph at
d of his mob, Antony Criesis, one of the
s of Hydra, stepped before him, and seized
the garment—" Mad demagogue !" said
him, " whither art thou going ? Liberty
the daughter of anarchy, she cannot spring
vil discord." The good citizens who had
erawed, took courage ; Œconomos, and
score of his partisans, were besieged in the
y by the captains Panayotas and Dreg-
made a desperate resistance, killing the
and wounding the former ; he was on the
f coming off victor, when Criesis again
ed. Having for some time stood the fire
defended by stone vaults, Criesis retired
house of George Bulgaris, whence he
iced a fire on the rebel. The Tombasis,
mados, and other primates, come to his
people fly from the square, abandoning
ol of the day. Œconomos, pursued by
of the captains, flies to Camini, a retired
of the town ; he gets on board a vessel
ng to the Tombasis, his pursuers ascend
; they force him to land again, and at
to surrender.*

zo. This is the only writer who enters into any
pecting the demagogue. It is not clear, however,
s at this period he appeared.

192 DECLARATION OF THE HYDRAOTES.

On the 28th April, the senate of Hydra unanimously proclaimed the *Reign of the Cross*. On the following day, the standard of independence was blessed by Cyril, bishop of Ægina, and raised amidst the acclamations of the people, and this declaration issued :—

“ In the name of Almighty God.

“ The Hellenic nation, wearied with groaning beneath the harsh yoke by which it has been, for four centuries, contumeliously oppressed, flies to arms with a stable and unanimous impulse, to escape being worn out by the heavy chains laid on her by the barbarous Mohammedans. The sacred name of liberty resounds through all parts of Hellas, and every Hellenic heart burns with the desire of recovering this precious gift of God, or of perishing in the struggle for it.

“ The inhabitants of the Isle of Hydra will not remain less prompt in engaging in this noble struggle ; but, despising every danger for the sake of overthrowing the power of their tyrants, are resolved to employ the only means which the local nature of their position gives for that purpose.”

The senate then declared that they had nominated James Tombasis, son of Nicholas, captain of the Themistocles, of sixteen guns, Navarch (*admiral*), and he was directed to proceed, with the forces under his command, whithersoever he judged it expedient to attack the Ottoman forces, with the means usually employed in legitimate warfare, until the period when the liberty and independence of Greece should have been secured. The appointment of Tombasis was then announced to the governments of

Spetzia, Ipsara, and such other isles as possessed shipping; and he was unanimously chosen navarch of the entire Union. Subscriptions were immediately opened at Hydra for the support of the navy, and MM. Condooriotis and Orlando set down their names for L.2300 each, for the equipment and maintenance of twenty vessels during the ensuing summer and autumn. Every effort was now made to get the fleet ready for sea.

Towards the middle of April, the inhabitants of the hills of Attica had begun to commit some slight depredations on the Turks, such as stealing their sheep, and kidnapping and setting at ransom themselves: but when they heard of the murder of the patriarch, they began to put to death such Turks as fell into their hands. The alarm extended all over the plain and country; and the cadi of Athens deemed it advisable to make the archbishop and the primates take the oath of fidelity to their *legitimate sovereign*.*

The Christian and Turkish inhabitants of Athens united in their desire to maintain the public security; and the gates were strictly guarded to prevent any attempts of the insurgents. No enemy, however, appeared, till one day, an emissary, secretly employed by them, came to the town, and informed the voivode that there was a small party of Greek robbers in the neighbourhood of Marathon, who might be easily surprised and cut to pieces. Immediately 800 of the Attic Turks set forth, eager to

* *Spectateur Oriental*, April 1820, 1821. Pouqueville.
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destroy, singing verses of the Koran.* They had just entered on the ever-memorable plain, when 1200 Greeks rushed from their concealment, and attacked them. The dastardly Turks made no resistance, about a hundred of them fled to Athens, closely followed by the victors; the Turks all hastened to shut themselves up in the acropolis; and the insurgents pillaged and burnt several of the houses of the Moslems.

The insurrection now spread to Eleusis, Megara, and the towns of the isthmus. The Hetairist Dikaïos, who was there, put himself at the head of the insurgents, and appeared before the walls of Corinth. The Turks, having had timely intimation of their approach, had retired to the lofty and almost impregnable acropolis, whence they could safely bid their foes defiance.

As nearly all Greece was now in arms against the Ottoman government, and a combat was about to be engaged in, in which the Greeks must either come off victors, or be exterminated by the Turkish scimitar, we will interrupt the course of our narrative to consider, first, the moral character of the insurrection, and how far it was founded in justice or otherwise; secondly, the sentiments and conduct of the Christian powers; thirdly, the relative strength of the belligerent parties.

1. The word *insurrection*, like *rebellion*, is usually employed in a bad sense, and is too apt to excite impressions unfavourable to those to

* "Not the chorusses of Euripides," says M. Pouqueville, "which the Athenians repeated as they marched to meet the barbarians encamped at Marathon;"—a piece of classic intelligence, we must confess, altogether new to us.

actions it is applied. Yet the cause of its is frequently—perhaps, in the major instances—the cause of justice and right. As dominion, founded on aggression and it, is maintained by tyranny and oppression as long as the interest and happiness of the subject people are wantonly sacrificed to the passions and caprices of the dominant people, and the shepherds are the flayers, not the shepherds, of the flock,—so long do the conquered people retain the right of regaining by what they lost by weakness; and the triumph of the good and the virtuous will ever triumph over them in the conflict. Such, then, was the fate of the Greeks. They had been conquered; the whole of their territory had been parcelled out among the conquerors; they were degraded to the condition of mere tenants of the land which had been their fathers'; they were each year obliged to redeem their freedom from the sabre of their tyrants by the payment of the *kharatch*, or capitation-tax; under the dominion of *rayas*, they were distinguished from the conquerors by dress, by language, by manners, and by religion. It was utterly impossible that two races could ever amalgamate, unless the Greeks were willing to renounce their independence and their language; for the Turks were the Germanic conquerors of the Roman Empire, who, though they seized the lands, and subjected to servitude the persons, of the inhabitants of the provinces, embraced their religion, and mingled their languages. What remained for the Greeks but to bow for ever under the galling yoke of irreclaimable bar-

barians, or to make a desperate effort to recover those rights of which force had deprived them, but to which their claim had never ceased to subsist? What applaude of the assertors of Swiss, of Swedish, of Dutch, of American independence, can refuse the meed of his approbation to the patriots of reviving Hellas?

Now that the civic wisdom and courage of an illustrious warrior has gained a victory over ill-grounded fears and prejudices, before whose lustre, the glittering trophies of Vittoria and Waterloo will, in the eyes of posterity, fade away into insignificance, we may venture, without fear of giving offence, or of exciting disaffection, to observe that the case most parallel to that of Greece which modern times presents, is that of Ireland during the last century, taking into account the immense difference between British and Protestant justice and humanity, and Turkish barbarism and fanatic spirit. Like the Greek *raya*, the Irish Catholic, be his rank what it might, was, and felt himself to be, one of a degraded caste; he could not acquire land or possess arms for his defence, his property was insecure, a dreadful code of laws was ever suspended over his head, and only kept from crushing him by the humanity of the ruling caste. The Greek could only redeem his life from year to year by the payment of the *kharatch*; the law, it was asserted, actually denied the existence of the Irish Catholic. The consequences of this state of social existence were apparent in the characters of the two castes: the vices which the advocates of the Turks discern in the Greeks, and love so to blazon forth

to the world, are those of the Irish Catholic, though much less in degree;) the virtues which they ascribe to their favourite Turks, are those of the Irish Protestant, whose vices also bear some faint resemblance to those of the Osmanli. But having escaped the soul-withering effects of moral and political degradation, the Irish Protestant stands—we assert it, not caring who may take offence—higher in the moral scale than the Irish Catholic. How long he may *now* maintain his superiority, we cannot presume to say, for the peculiar vices of the Catholic were the offspring, not of his creed, but of his political situation.

If, when in that degraded state, the Irish Catholics had sought by force of arms to recover the rights of which they had been deprived, and had succeeded in securing their national independence, one more instance might have been added to the catalogue of *Glorious Revolutions* which shine along the pages of history. But how great the difference between a British cabinet and a Turkish divan! The Duke of Wellington and his colleagues have, by one act of real wisdom, firmly attached the affections of an entire people to the British crown, and given the empire a degree of strength and security which it never before possessed—for an insurrection of the Irish Catholics would now be folly, be madness, be *rebellion*, in its worst and most disgusting form—while the barbarous, exterminating system of the Turkish sultan and his ministry has lost to Mahmood one of the *best portions of his dominions*.

2. *It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the cause*

of the Greeks, that their insurrection should have coincided in time with the futile attempts made to limit despotism in the two more western peninsulas of Europe. An opportunity was thereby presented to the enemies of liberty, of representing it as a branch of the same spirit of factious resistance to what was designated *legitimate* authority, and of heaping obloquy on those who engaged in it. Nothing, however, is more certain, than that the Greek Hetairists were perfectly unconnected with the Italian Carbonari; they had little or no communication with Italy: it was from Germany, Russia, and France, that those patriotic Greeks came who hastened back to their natal soil to conquer or die in the cause of Hellas.

The general feeling of the Christian governments was in favour of the Turks. A possession of power over the Greeks, during centuries, legitimated their right to it in the eyes of the monarchs and statesmen who sat in congress at Laybach, planning how best to rivet the fetters of the people; and as these personages were agreed to regard the absolute monarch as the only legitimate source of law and institutions, and Mahmood did not choose to grant his rayas liberty or security, it followed, as a natural consequence, that their efforts to recover their inalienable rights were rebellion against their legitimate sovereign, and should be discouraged and crushed like those of Naples and Piedmont, by the vicegerents of God upon earth. The actuating spirit at Laybach was Austria, a power who has acquired an odious celebrity by the vehement hostility, often carried to an excess

which provokes ridicule and contempt rather than hatred, against liberty, under whatever form it may exhibit itself ; and, as we have already seen, her diplomacy did not scruple or blush to have recourse to forgery for the attainment of their darling object.

In the case of Greece, however, there was, besides this general hatred of liberty, a peculiar reason for opposition on the part of Austria,—namely, a strong, and not, perhaps, altogether ill-founded jealousy of the increasing power of Russia. The Greeks were known to be more attached to Russia than to any other European power. Russia was the natural enemy of their tyrants, and the conquest of Turkey by her must be of advantage in every point of view to the Greeks. The number of the Greeks, too, who engaged in the civil or military service of Russia, and of the traders who resorted to, or settled in, her ports on the Black Sea, aided to keep up the feelings of attachment and amity between the rayas of the Sultan and the power who menaced him from the north. Religion was a farther tie; the Greeks were persecuted and oppressed on account of their religion, and as men always do, they but loved it the better, and clung to it the more pertinaciously on that account. Religion was, therefore, in their eyes, a concern of paramount importance; the Russian Tsar, the only potentate of Europe who professed the doctrines of the Greek church, was regarded by them as a kind of temporal head of their church ; and the connexion between religious and political affection is close and intimate, where there are, as in the present case, *no conflicting national interests.*

Austria naturally concluded, that any diminution of the Ottoman power, especially in Europe, would be an augmentation of that of Russia; and we shall, therefore, find her on all occasions throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the Greeks, and giving every aid that she could to their enemies, short of actual hostilities, from which fear, rather than any other motive, restrained her.

The case of England was somewhat similar. Greatly as she exults in the possession of a degree of liberty beyond that of almost any other people, she has never, in her national capacity, shown any remarkable zeal for extending the blessing to others; and, at the period of which we write, her foreign affairs were under the direction of a statesman whose egregious vanity had made him the complete dupe of the Holy Alliance, and whose own sentiments had never led him to worship at the fane of freedom. But it was not the influence of one man, or of the government, which caused the lukewarmness or hostility of the English nation to the Greek cause—the spirit of trade which pervades and actuates the entire mass of our society, was alarmed; we too have our fears of the increasing power of Russia; vague and chimerical apprehensions of her, one day or other, pouring, like a Seleucus or Tamerlane, a northern army over the plains of India, and destroying our Eastern empire, haunt our minds. She has, moreover, made so little progress in political economy, as to be fond of imposing tariffs and protecting duties; and it is apprehended, that, if she were *mistress*, or directed the policy, of the countries

now subject to the Turk, we might not enjoy the same commercial advantages which the Sultan concedes to us. Hence, then, the declaration that the preservation of the Ottoman Empire in its integrity, is essential to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe; hence the illaudable proceedings of the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and his council; hence the zeal for the Turkish cause shown by the British consular agents, whom, we fear, we cannot perfectly vindicate from the charge brought against them, of acting the part of spies, on various occasions, for the Turkish government; hence, finally, the vituperative language applied to the Greeks by so many British writers. The sympathy of the people of England was not, in fact, with the Greeks in this arduous struggle; our classic recollections, where such existed, did not warm us in their cause; the dread of an increase of the Russian power chilled all our kindly feelings in their behalf; and those who, in this country, were most active in their endeavours to aid her, were only regarded as hot-headed, warm-hearted enthusiasts, or Utopian visionaries, until the affair of a Greek loan brought other actors on the scene.

France was too much occupied by her own internal affairs to take much interest in the distant events of the East of Europe, and she did not, perhaps, see so much reason as others to dread the increasing power of Russia. The people were generally in favour of the Greek patriots; the government did not testify any very hostile feelings towards them. The same was the case in *Northern Germany*, where classic

knowledge and classic enthusiasm prevail more than in any other part of Europe.

The feelings of the Emperor Alexander led him, at first, as it would appear, to take part with the oppressed people of Greece; but his feelings were soon obliged to give way before the principles of the Holy Alliance, and the Russian ministers and agents carefully abstained from giving any countenance or aid to the Greek cause. It may, indeed, be questioned, if entertaining hopes, as she is said to do, of making European Turkey her own, it was for the interest of Russia that Greece should recover her independence; it might be regarded as withdrawing from her grasp a portion of what she counted on possessing, and though she might hope to influence the councils of independent Greece, a decent pretext for subjecting it might hardly present itself.

3. At the commencement of the struggle, the superiority of force and means was greatly on the side of the Turks. The Sultan was master of 160 regiments (*ortes*) of Janizaries, of 30,000 cannoneers, and a numerous force of Dehlis or light-horse, spread over the empire; his Turkish subjects were all armed and inspired with fanaticism; he had twenty fortresses in Greece, defended by nearly 80,000 men; Albania and Bosnia furnished him with a valiant soldiery; and the resources of an immense empire were at his disposal. His marine consisted of fifteen ships of the line, seventeen frigates, twenty-four corvettes, and a great number of two-masted vessels; and the navies of Egypt and of the Barbary States were ready to sail at his call.

To oppose these forces, the Greeks could count only 18,000 Klephts of Continental Greece; 35,000 Moreôtes, less disciplined and less brave than the Klephts of the mountains of Thessaly and Ætolia; 15,000 Cretans, and a rabble of peasantry, without arms, courage, or discipline. Their naval force consisted of 150 fast-sailing brigs, which they changed from the merchant-service to that of war, manned by 9500 hardy sailors, who could vie in skill and courage with any in Europe. Their resources were the accumulated capital of their wealthy merchants, and the plunder which the war itself might afford.*

CHAPTER XIII.

The Grecian Admiral puts to sea—he arrives at Tino—at Ipsara—Turkish vessels captured—Attempt to excite the Chiotés—The Insurrection spreads through the Islands—Christians massacred by the Turks—Naval Force of the Greeks.

ON the 2d of May, the navarch, Tombasis, having taken an oath of obedience to the senate of Hydra, got his fleet under weigh, and put to sea, with sealed orders. In his oath he had bound himself to respect, on board of the ships of the enemy, the property of his innocent countrymen, that of Europeans, even of the Turks themselves, when they struck their flag without opposition. In his instructions to the captains

* *This is the statement of Soutzo.*

under him, he exhorted them to render themselves deserving in the eyes of Europe, by a strict adherence to the usages of civilized warfare. It was declared that the neutral flag should cover goods belonging to the enemy, and that they should abstain from *forcibly* visiting the vessels of Christian powers, unless when they were hired by the Turkish government for the conveyance of men or military stores; in which case the lading should be seized, but the captain be paid his freight, and obliged to take the soldiers back to the port where he had taken them on board. The admiralty of Spetzia, one of whose captains, named Argyros Stremitziotis, had a few days before captured an Austrian sloop with Turkish soldiers on board for the Morea, and sent her into Tino (*Tenos*), on hearing of the resolution of the senate of Hydra, resolved to conform to it; and Tombasis was directed to proceed to Tino, and redress this grievance.

By the order of the senate, each vessel in the fleet bore on its mast a proclamation addressed to the islanders of the Archipelago, informing them of the universality of the insurrection, and calling on them to embark in their vessels, and join the fleets of Hydra, Spetzia, and Ipsara, in the glorious work of giving liberty to the Archipelago. The proclamation concluded by devoting to execration and perdition those who should keep back from aiding the most just of causes.

On the evening of the 3d of May, the fleet cast anchor at Tino, and the navarch wrote to invite the primates to a conference on the follow-

ing day. They repaired on board in the morning, where they were received with a salute of artillery ; and a court-martial was immediately held on Argyros Stremitziotis, the Spetziote captain. It appeared that the Austrian consul had already recovered his vessel, with the Turks, and their property, so that he had only a claim of 350 Turkish piastres (about L.10) to make, which sum was instantly paid.

The island of Tino is about sixteen leagues in circumference, and contained a population of 16,000 souls. It had belonged to Venice, and a small portion of its inhabitants adhered to the rites of the Latin church. Tombasis, on inviting the people to join the common cause, learned with great satisfaction that, two days before, the standard of the cross had been raised, and a provisional government formed. He invited the Catholic Bishop to adhere to the insurrection, but one of the principal Catholics waited on him to say that their numbers were too small in the Levant to permit of their taking any part in civil matters ; he was, however, willing to engage, in their name, for their contributing their money, along with the orthodox, to the cause of liberty. With this the admiral declared himself satisfied.

In the course of the day, a Spetziote vessel came and informed the people of the death of the patriarch Gregory. This mournful intelligence had reached Imbros along with several fugitives from Constantinople, whom the Spetziote captain brought with him to Tino. The people were filled with grief and rage at the tidings, and it *required all the influence of Tom-*

basis to prevent their rushing to the house of the Austrian consul, and massacring the Turks who were there.

The navarch, having put again to sea, opened the sealed packet, and found that, with other pieces, it contained a proclamation to the Chiotas, calling on them to join in the insurrection. This step had been suggested by Neophytes Bambas, a learned and eloquent priest of Chios, who had been obliged to seek refuge at Hydra, from the government, who persecuted him as a Hetairist. Off Myconos, the squadron was joined by three vessels belonging to it, which had captured a vessel from the capital, bound for Candia with gun-carriages for the fortresses of Retimo and Candia. May 6th, the squadron cast anchor in the port of Ipsara, which island lies northwest of Chios, is barren and rugged, but abounded in shipping. The Ipsariotes informed the admiral that Andros had sent them its adhesion, and all the neighbouring isles were declared for independence, except Scyros, which was inhabited by Latin Christians, who, on all occasions, went contrary to the orthodox. The people of the village of Volisses in Chios had also sent to invite the patriots to effect a landing near their village, when they would join them; but as these people were of a rustic character, and unlike their countrymen in general, the president of the Ipsariote council said, "One swallow does not make a summer. The Chiotas are sunk in luxury, and they must be violently shaken to rouse them." Two of the principal Chiotas, who happened to be at Ipsara, were then called into the council; and the necessity

of declaring against the common enemy was represented to them in vain. They shrunk with horror from the idea, and alleged, what was probably just, that it would be more for the common interest for them to remain quiet, and supply those who were in arms with money, than to expose themselves to Turkish vengeance by engaging prematurely in the insurrection. It was, however, the opinion of the council, that a landing should be effected in that island, and the Ipsariotes added ten of their ships to the Hydraote squadron.

The Hydraotes had meantime driven a Turkish vessel, laden with military stores for Candia, under the fortress of Chios, where they sunk it, in view of the Mohammedans. An Ipsariote brig captured another vessel, with ninety Turkish soldiers and 140 *hajjees*, or pilgrims to Mecca, on board. The soldiers fought to the last, and were all slain ; the hajjees were sent to Mani, in the Morea, to be sold for slaves.

On the 8th May, the combined squadron cast anchor at the Fountain of the Pasha in Chios. It was resolved to try to raise the country-people, and then to attack the town by sea and land. An Ipsariote sailor was accordingly sent up through the country with a proclamation to the Chiotes, calling on them to join in the insurrection. The sailor was hardly gone when news arrived of the capture of another Turkish vessel, bound for Candia ; and on the 10th, a ship with pilgrims, destined for Alexandria, became the prize of two of the Hydraote brigs. The wealth found in this vessel was considerable ; it consisted of *twelve silver* and six golden cande-

labra, three mirrors set in jewels, a great quantity of silver-plate, diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones. So much plunder quite dazzled the Greek mariners ; and the captains, who were on shore at a neighbouring village, were obliged to come instantly on board, to prevent the ill consequences which were likely to result. The next day their emissary returned, with the information that he had found only about 100 men in the village of Lanyadez inclined to take arms ; and as they had learned from other quarters, that the people of the town of Chios had voluntarily given hostages to the pasha, who had left 150 Asiatic Turks for the defence of the citadel, and sent the remainder of his troops through the country to disarm the people, they saw that, in the present state of affairs, nothing was to be done there, and they resolved to return to Hydra.

On the 13th, the Greeks sunk another Turkish vessel and her crew, who had refused to surrender. The 16th, they drove another ashore near the village of Cardanga, and having taken a ship, on board of which were some Jews, they hanged them, to avenge the insults offered by their brethren of Constantinople to the corpse of the patriarch Gregory. The squadron put to sea again on the 19th ; the Ipsariotes returned home to put their isle in a state of defence ; the Hydraotes made sail for Lesbos, and on the night of the 20th they effected their return to Hydra.

A division of the Greek fleet which was *cruizing* among the Cyclades, having learned that there were lying at Milos a Turkish corvette

of thirty-two guns, and a brig, made sail for that island. The greater part of the Turkish crews, as well as their officers, were on shore when the Greek fleet arrived; the inhabitants rose and assailed the Turks with stones and other missiles, while the Greek ships fired on them from the water. The Turks were all slain, and the island, which contained about 1200 or 1500 inhabitants, joined the general insurrection. All the islands were now in arms against the Sultan, except Scyros, Chios, Cos, Mitylene, Rhodes, and Candia. At Ceos, fifteen Turks, who were put on shore by a Hydraote vessel, were massacred by the people. At Paros, the garrison was slaughtered. At Samos, there was a general massacre of the Turks. In most of the islands the Turkish collectors of tribute, and other officers, were put to death.

They know little of the Turkish character, who could suppose that, where they had the power, they did not take most ample retaliation on the Greeks. The example set by the capital, where the Turkish empire was made desolate, was eagerly followed in all the provinces. In all the principal cities, particularly at Smyrna, the Greeks, as well as the Christians, were persecuted and massacred. At Smyrna, the part of the city inhabited by the Christians was burned to the ground, and the Christians were killed to the number of 10,000. At Ipsos, not less than 5,000 were killed on that day. At supporting even its

The charity exhibited by the Ipsariotes, on the present occasion, was highly creditable to them. They opened their magazines to supply the refugees with food ; and every night, barks, accompanied by armed men, were sent to the watering places of the continent, and the neighbouring isles, to fetch water in barrels and skins. They also dug wells ; but the water was so brackish, that it produced epidemic diseases among those who drank of it. When this state of affairs at Ipsara was known at Hydra, ships were sent to take the refugees, and disperse them through the islands, where they experienced a kind and generous hospitality.

As it was known that a fleet was getting ready at Constantinople to act against the insurgent islanders, the Ipsariotes made every effort to put their isle into a state of defence. The same was done at Hydra, where orders were issued by the senate to get ready for sea thirty-six vessels of from twelve to twenty guns each, manned by 2436 hardy mariners. The sailors now flung off the raya dress ; their commanders wore helmets surmounted with a cross, and bearing the motto, *Death or Liberty*. Their flag displayed a figure of Christ, with the device Η ΤΑΝ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ, * which they interpreted, *with it or over it*, i. e. conquer or sink.

Spetzia fitted out ten vessels, manned by 640 sailors. Three ships were contributed by Booboolina, the widow of a man who was assassinated at Constantinople in 1812, and, a second Arte-

* The words of the Spartan mother on presenting the shield to her son.

misia, she commanded her little squadron in person. Modena Mavroyeni, who had sought refuge in the isle of Myconos after the murder of her father by order of the Sultan, fitted out two vessels, to which the Myconians added four xebecs. This heroine, we are told, declared that her hand was reserved for a freeman who had signalized himself against the Turks. Calauria furnished a vessel of sixteen guns and 120 men. Cymo, and the other isles, gave a number of vessels of various sizes to the common cause. Ipsara sent to sea twenty fleet polaccas, manned by chosen sailors. The whole sea was covered with the vessels of the Greeks; and the Turks could not venture to navigate the waters of the Archipelago through dread of the Towshans (*hares*), as they were in the habit of contemptuously styling the Greeks of the islands. Sentinels, as in the old times, were posted on all the heights, to give notice of the approach of the Turkish fleet, that all might hasten to take share in the *Holy War*.

Such was the state of the islands at the end of the first month of the naval war. We must now again direct our attention to the Morea and Enirua

CHAPTER XIV.

Troops sent to Tripolitza—Atrocities committed by them—Plans of Khoorsheed to destroy the Christians—they fail—Omer Briones marches into Boetia—Engagements with the Greeks—Attack on Ali—The people of Calavrita and Syraco abandon their dwellings—Omer Briones reaches Athens.

AFTER Yoosoof pasha had repulsed the disorderly bands of archbishop Germanos, a body of 2400 Turks and Albanians landed at Patras, sent by Khoorsheed, under the command of his kiaya and of Elmas-bey, for the defence of Tripolitza. At Vostitza these chiefs roasted, we are told, at a slow fire, some Greeks who fell into their hands, and burnt the churches and houses. When they entered Argolis, the people of its capital, who had given up their arms, advanced to meet them with presents. They were received with civility, and dismissed ; but that very night, 700 of those capable of bearing arms were seized and decapitated. The town was at the same time set fire to in different quarters ; numbers of women and children perished in the flames ; about 6000 of the inhabitants made their escape to the mountains of Arcadia ; all the villages were deserted ; the peasants took up arms and harassed the Turkish army, which, with some loss, reached Tripolitza.

At Patras another shock of an earthquake was felt on the morning of the 29th April, and the Greeks began to come down from Mount

Panochæacos, and annoy the garrison. On the 2d May, and the two following days, they entered the town of Patras, and they burnt the country-seats and farm-houses of the agás. They cut off the supplies of provisions destined for the citadel, and were beginning to have a decided advantage, when some bodies of Albanian troops, sent from Epirus by Khoorsheed-pasha, appeared, and drove them back to the mountains.

Ali Pasha was still in possession of the island in the lake of Jannina, from which he would not suffer the Greek inhabitants to depart. This conduct excited their fears and their indignation; and when they learned that Khoorsheed pasha meditated an attack on the island, they sent him such information as greatly facilitated the enterprise. But scarcely had the troops of the pasha entered their villages, when they began to rob and plunder, to massacre the men, and to abuse the women. Their women and children were dragged to the camp of the ser-asker, and sold by auction for slaves. Demetrius Athenasius, a Christian, interceded with Khoorsheed in their favour, and obtained an order for their liberation; but the soldiers refused to give them up, and the ser-asker paid 150 pistoles a-head for them out of his own money, and restored 500 persons to liberty.

This act of humanity was speedily followed by the imprisonment and torture of the primates of Calavrita, accused of having received a large sum of money in deposit from Ali Pasha. The vizir had ordered them for execution, the rope was about their necks, when Omer Briones, hearing of their situation, went to the ser-asker, as-

sured him of their innocence, and representing the danger of putting them to death in the present state of affairs, obtained an order to save them.

“ Then,” said one of them who told the event, “ then we were instantly set at liberty ; and, by one of those contrasts so common in Turkey, the executioners invite us to take refreshments. The master had spoken—they show us the same degree of civility as they had hitherto done of ferocity, and the hand which was to have strangled us, now humbly presented us with coffee. They did not forget to hold it out for a present, the price of the cord, of their trouble, and of our clothes, which they were to have had, all which we gave them, glad to be off for a little agony and money, which is nothing when one comes back from the gates of death to witness the chastisement of his oppressors.”*

Khoorsheed, having now heard of the suppression of the insurrection in Valachia, and of the massacres at Constantinople, resolved to proceed with vigour against the Christians. A bishop, lately appointed to the see of Hieromeri, having landed at Arta, was seized, and he and his deacon hanged before the tent of the ser-asker. Several others of the clergy experienced the same fate a few days afterwards, and the prisons were filled with prelates and other dignitaries of the church.

The ser-asker, neglecting Ali Tebelin, turned his thoughts towards the best mode of destroying the various bodies of armatoles, or Klephs,

* Pouqueville.

who maintained themselves in the mountains of Greece. The number of these men was considerable ; but they were scattered over a large surface, and they might, it was thought, be destroyed in detail, by bringing a superior force to act against their separate bands. He fixed on Ætolia as the first scene of his operations. A governor was appointed for that province, who wrote from Arta to the Ætolian primates, informing them that he intended to fix his residence at Vrachori, with 350 men, to watch over the tranquillity of the country. In their reply, they begged him to bring as few men as possible ; and, to show his good intentions, he came with but 150. Three or four captains of the *armatoles* came at the head of 400 of their men to salute him. They then retired to their mountains ; and the governor gradually increased his force to 800 men.

The presence of such a number of Turks was both odious and oppressive to the people, and the primates applied in vain to be relieved from them. The *Klephts*, seeing the gradual increase of the Turkish force, put themselves on the defensive, so that the governor was unable to employ the stratagems which were meditated against them. The excesses of his soldiery forced the people of the plain to fly to the mountains ; the villages were deserted, and the governor found it necessary to lay the whole state of affairs before the *ser-asker*, recommending him, at the same time, to send 3000 or 4000 men, and massacre the people before they joined in the insurrection of Livadia and the Morea.

The Klephts intercepted the courier who was

the bearer of this dispatch, and they resolved to persevere in the system which they had adopted. This conduct the Turks ascribed to cowardice, and they prepared to attack them. The Klephts, in a council of war, determined to repel force by force, but, in order to cast the odium of aggression on the Turks, not to pursue them beyond the mountains.

But before long a Turkish officer, named Ismail Piassa, arrived at Arta with a division of 1500 men, which he was leading to Vrachori. With the usual arrogance and want of foresight of a Turk, he sent to inform the Ætolian primates of the order of his march to that town. This information was speedily communicated to the Klephts; and Varnakiotis, one of their captains, whose services had been rejected by Khoor-sheed, eagerly caught at an opportunity of revenge. Taking with him 150 brave palicares, he placed himself in ambush at the Makron Oros, and, attacking the enemy by surprise, drove him back to Arta, with a loss of 370 men. Ismail Piassa made a second attempt to penetrate to Vrachori with 2500 men. The Klephts opposed to him 800 palicares, and drove him back once more to Arta, where they kept him, and three vizirs, blocked up for a month. These successes of the Acarnanians made Khoor-sheed pause in the course which he was pursuing, and he set at liberty the prelates whom he retained in prison.

Omer Briones had, meantime, undertaken the task of crushing the rebellion in Livadia. Having joined Mehemet Ali, the new vizir of the Morea, who was at the head of 2500 men in

Thessaly, and being reinforced by some contingents from Macedonia, his entire force amounted to 8000 men. Leaving Mehemet Ali to watch Gooras and Dyovootis, and the Klephts of Mount Othrys, he advanced himself towards Thermopylæ. At Thaumakos he detached a party of 900 men, with directions to cross the Hellada (*Sperchius*), six leagues above the bridge of the same name, and to place themselves in ambush in the woods of Mount Catavothra, in order to take the Greeks in the rear, while he attacked them in front at the ordinary passage of the river.

Diakos, at the head of his 500 palicares, was posted on the right bank of the Hellada, to dispute the passage with Omer Briones, of whose march he was aware. The combat had lasted several hours, when the Christians found themselves attacked in flank by the 'Turks from Mount Catavothra. Seeing no other hope of escape, they resolved to cut their way through the troops of Omer Briones, who had not yet passed the bridge. They effected their purpose, with the loss of sixty killed and wounded, among whom was the brave Diakos, who was taken and impaled. They made their way through the woods to Parnassus, where they informed Odysseus of the fate of his friend, whose death he vowed to revenge.

Omer Briones, who had lost 600 men at the passage of the Sperchius, having delayed some time to pay the last duties to them, and having placed a garrison in the khan of Hellada, proceeded to Botonitza, where he halted for a week.

He then advanced towards the Mavronero (*Cephisus*), his march being directed along a line passing midway between Salona and Livadia. Odysseus, who knew of the defeat of Ismail Piassa, and that Mehemet Ali had been repulsed by the bands of Mount Othrys, came down, on the 20th May, at sunset, from the heights of Mount Lyacoora (*Lycoreia*) into the plain of Bœotia, and took his post, with 700 men, at Panopea, on that river, where, next morning, he attacked and repulsed Omer Briones. Odysseus, anxious to cover the town of Livadia, fell back to Capooria (*Chæronea*), where, after a conflict, sustained till night, he was obliged to give way, and retire with loss.

These two engagements had cost the Turks 700, the Greeks 172 men. Omer was, however, reinforced by 1500 Turks of Bœotia, and he advanced rapidly towards Livadia. Odysseus, who was joined by the palicares of Diakos, 200 men from Amphissa, 100 of the men of Mount Tithoreäs, and the *levées en masse* of Cocla (*Platæa*), Castro (*Delphi*), and Arakhova, appeared at the head of 2500 men, in sight of the field of battle which he had lost two evenings before. With loud cries of *Kyrie Eleison*, they fell on the astonished Turks, whom Omer Briones in vain animated by voice and by example. They were driven over the Cephisus. The village of Toorki-Khori, in their rear, having been occupied by the Christians, Omer Briones was forced to take the road to Talanti, and thence to Bodonitza, where he was besieged by a thousand of the peasants of Bœotia, while Odysseus

returned to the defence of Lidoriki and Malandrino against the Turks of Salona.*

Odysseus was now at the head of 5000 men ; for, after his victory over Omer Briones, the Greeks hastened from all sides to join him. He attacked the castle of Arakhova, and massacred its garrison of 150 Turks. Passing through the territory of the ancient Crissa, on their way to Salona, the Greeks learned that the Turks of that place had murdered the bishop of that see, and had taken refuge in the castle of Amphissa. A party, commanded by a chief named Panorios, laid siege to them ; and after twelve days, carried the place by assault, and put to death all who were in it, except a bey and his family, who turned Christians.

The inhabitants of the whole of ancient Doris, Loeris, and Ætolia-Epiktetos, now cast off the Turkish yoke. Mesolonghi and Anatolico followed their example. The crescent was everywhere cast down from the summit of the mosques ; the cap of the raya was flung aside, and the ancient name of Ephoros was adopted for that of coja-bashee.

Khoorsheed pasha, having sent orders to Bekir Joador, the governor of Prevesa, to fall on the rear of Varnikiotis, who was blockading Arta, resolved to make every effort to reduce Ali Pasha, that he might be able to turn his entire force against the Greeks. Accordingly, on

* M. Pouqueville is so anxious to make a hero of Odysseus, that whatever he relates of him must be received with suspicion. As M. Raybaud asserts that Odysseus was constantly defeated, we must express our doubt of these *victories*.

the 5th June, he opened a heavy fire against the south side of the castle of Litharitzza, and having made a breach, the assault was ordered for the 8th, in the morning. The troops marched boldly to the attack ; after an hour's warm fighting, Ali, carried in a handbarrow, on account of the gout, headed a sortie, and drove them within their lines, with a loss of 300 men. " The bear of Pindus is still alive," was his message to Khoorsheed. " You may send and take your dead to bury them ; I give them to you without ransom, and will do so as long as you attack me like a brave man."

Bekir Jocador had failed in his attempts to make a diversion, and the Greeks began to extend their plundering parties to the vicinity of the camp of the ser-asker, whose horses Mark Botzaris had even carried away from the village of Variades.

The Valachians, who inhabited the town of Calavrita, wearied out by the expense of supporting a garrison of 480 Turks, secretly admitted 200 of the revolted Greeks into the town. The Turks were besieged in some strong houses which they occupied. After defending themselves for ten days, they capitulated, on condition of being allowed to retire with their arms and baggage to Jannina. The protopapas (*vicar*) of the town, and eight of the principal persons, were sent to escort them. As they were descending Mount Polganos, they met a corps of 2000 Turks, whom Khoorsheed had sent to their aid ; these instantly murdered the *priest* and five of his companions, and returned to attack the town. The Klephts fled at their

approach. The inhabitants, reduced to despair, resolved to defend themselves against them ; and sixty men, concealing themselves in a quarter of the town which overhangs the precipices which bound it on the south, kept the enemy in check, till the whole of the people had had time to gain the steeps of Mount Baros, and in the night the entire population of Calavrita, men, women, and children, journeyed over the mountains by torch-light to the valley of the Acheloiis.

The neighbouring town of Syraco, at the exhortation of Coletti, one of its principal inhabitants, followed the example of Calavrita. Setting fire to their houses, the people betook themselves to the mountains, and went on till they had joined the Calavritiotes. They formed different camps to collect the people of the villages, and, after wandering about during twenty-five days, arrived, with their cattle, amounting to 81,000 head, in the forests of Ætolia. Coletti passed over to the Morea ; some of the more wealthy families sought shelter in the Ionian Islands.

Omer Briones dispersed the Greek forces which were opposed to him, and led his troops to Athens. The Christian inhabitants fled at his approach to the island of Salamis. Omer, after having stopped there a few days, leaving a sufficient number of men to defend the acropolis, set out on his return to Epirus.

CHAPTER XV.

A Hydraote squadron appears off Patras—Corinth liberated by Yoosoof—The Lalaotes retire to Patras—Successes of the Greeks—Battle of Valtetzi—Arrival of D. Hypsilantis—Disputes between him and the primates—The foreigners in Greece.

ON the 1st June, a small Hydraote squadron made its appearance in the gulf of Patras. That of the capitana-bey, though much superior in force, immediately weighed anchor, and made for the Little Dardanelles, whither it was pursued by the Greeks. Next day, another Greek squadron arrived; and the Grecian fleet now rode triumphant in the bay of the Halcyons. The presence of the fleet gave additional courage to the Greeks of Ætolia, and a body of 6000 men crossed Mount Aracynthus, and entered Vrachori, where they set fire to the mosques and the Turkish quarter. The Turks and the Jews fortified themselves in the house of the voivode. After they had consumed all their provisions, they offered to capitulate; the only terms they could obtain were security for their lives. They were pronounced to be rayas, and were led, with cotton caps on their heads, to labour at the public works in the isle of Anatic. The Mohammedans of Zepardi having submitted on the same conditions, the whole of Ætolia was now in the hands of the Greeks.

The Hydraotes having landed men and cannon, the castle of Patras was closely pressed, but in-

formation having fallen into their hands which made them apprehensive of the hostility of the English, it was deemed prudent to quit these seas, and return home. The Cambrian frigate soon appeared off Patras, and two transports, under her convoy, landed gunpowder and provisions for the Turkish garrison. She then sailed up the gulf, and liberated some Turkish vessels which were on the point of being captured. Yoosoof pasha now felt himself enabled to resume active hostilities against the Greeks.*

His first object was to relieve the citadel of Corinth, which was blockaded by the Greeks. Having embarked with 1200 men, he sailed a whole night up the gulf, and next morning, having hoisted the banner of the cross, landed without opposition at Leeke. The Greeks, who had taken them for Hydraotes, on perceiving their error, went down to the beach, where they kept them in check till their friends in the town had had time to set fire to the palace of Kya-mil-bey, and a part of the lower town. The whole of the Greeks then fled, and secured themselves in the mountains of the Isthmus, whither the Turks would not venture to pursue them.

* Pouqueville.—The antipathy of this writer to the English is so notorious, that his statements respecting them must always be received with extreme diffidence. It is, however, a matter of certainty, that at this period many of the English were hostile to the Greeks, and used every means, both fair and unfair, to thwart and depress them. M. de Pouqueville says, that the Hydraotes, having searched two Zanthiote boats, found in the handle of an oar, belonging to one of them, a letter to Yoosoof pasha, which revealed their secret designs, and that they hanged a man *whom they found to be a spy of the English.*

224 METAXAS ATTACKS THE LALAOTES.

Yoo-soof, on his return to Patras, learning the distressed state of the Lalaotes, prepared to march to their relief.

When the intelligence of the raising of the standard of the cross in the Morea reached the Seven Isles, a considerable degree of enthusiasm was excited, and the most lively sympathy prevailed for those who had ventured to make head against their tyrants. The people of Zante, Cephalonia, and the neighbouring islands, contributed freely both money and stores; and a gentleman of Cephalonia, named Andrew Metaxas, having obtained the permission of the British authorities to fit out a few vessels for the protection of the Patrean refugees, embarked with about 500 or 600 men, and landed in Elia, about the time that Procopius was engaging the people of that country to retire to the mountains.

As Metaxas had sent away those who did not wish to share in the dangers of his enterprise, he landed with but 350 men, and four small pieces of cannon. Such a number, however, of Ionian exiles soon flocked to his standard, that he found himself at the head of 1500 men, and being joined by the people of the country, he advanced against the Lalaotes, the plunderers and oppressors of the country. These Mussulmans had, by orders of the kiaya-bey, burnt the village of Yoolinitza, and they were advancing to destroy that of Valtetzi, when the approach of Metaxas stopped them, and forced them to retire to Lala, where they were shut up by the continually augmenting forces of the *Greeks*. On the 18th June, they went to Yoo-soof pasha, for aid to enable them to retire to

Patras with their families, as they had no hopes of being able to maintain themselves in their present position. The following day, a bloody but undecisive engagement took place, in which Metaxas was wounded. A few days afterwards, Yoosoof pasha forced his way to Lala with 2000 men ; and, all things being prepared, the entire population, having set fire to the town in different parts, abandoned it on the 29th June.

The distance from Lala to Patras is about twenty-four hours when there are no impediments to be surmounted. Yoosoof took the command of the advanced guard, the women, children, and cattle, were placed in the centre, and the Lalaotes brought up the rear. After a toilsome march of six days, during which they were incessantly harassed by the Greeks, the whole train, with 8000 horned cattle, arrived at Patras. They had with them sacks of heads and ears, collected on different occasions, and thirty Zanteote peasants whom they had picked up on their way, who were forthwith impaled by order of Yoosoof pasha.

Disputes soon broke out between the Lalaotes and the pasha ; the former turned their cattle out to feed in the vineyards which produce the currants, that were now ripening, and had been already sold to the Franks. Representations were instantly made to the pasha. He tried in vain to restrain the excesses of the Lalaotes, who, advancing in audacity, next demanded houses to live in ; and as the town had been destroyed, Yoosoof admitted them into the citadel, whence they soon contrived to expel most of the other Turks, who, leaving the castle

in their hands, were obliged to pass over to Lé-panto, where they were soon blocked up by their old foes the Greeks.

In the other parts of the Morea, the Greeks were beleaguering the fortresses. The first which surrendered was that of Arcadia, which overhangs the bay of that name. A part of its garrison made their escape to Navarino, the remainder were escorted to Tripolitza by the Greeks. Philatra and Gargaliano were occupied by the Greeks, who next blockaded Navarino, where Idris-bey, the commandant, had hanged several of the clergy of the town and its neighbourhood, and thus put an end to all hopes of accommodation. The Christians of Modon joined the camp before Navarino, and watched the motions of the valiant Turks of Coron, who did not quit their fields till the Maniotes descended from their mountains. These last, however, came rather to plunder than to fight: they fled before the Turks; they robbed the Christians of their property, to save it, they said, from falling into the hands of the infidels.

The kiaya-bey, who had arranged with the Lalaotes those measures for the destruction of the Greeks at Valtetzi, which had been disconcerted by the arrival of Metaxas and his men, advanced, ignorant of what had happened, at the head of 5000 men, to attack the Greeks there, commanded by Colocotronis and Anagnostáras. The Greeks were posted in the mountains in parties of 400 or 500 men, and they kept up their correspondence by night, by means of *large fires for signals.* At the close of the day, *the Turks came and encamped before them, cer-*

tain of victory, and looking for the appearance of the Lalaotes.

Tired of waiting for their confederates, the Turks resolved to act alone. They carried, with considerable loss, some positions which defended the approaches of the village. When they reached the last hastily thrown up intrenchments, they were received by a heavy and well-sustained fire. The conflict lasted for several hours; at length the Turks, dispirited by seeing the numbers of their enemies increase every moment, retired. The Greeks pursued them all the evening, and killed a great number of them. This victory, the first gained by the Maniotes, gave them confidence in themselves; they had put to flight those before whom they were used to tremble. They now came and encamped on the heights to the southwest of Tripolitza.*

On the 5th June, the deputies composing the provisional government of the Morea, met at the monastery of Caltizi, and nominated seven of their members to have the supreme direction of affairs, till the taking of Tripolitza, when other arrangements might be made.

In the beginning of June, Demetrius Hypsilantis, the brother of the unfortunate Alexander, arrived in Greece. He had, by means of disguise, eluded the vigilance of the Austrian police, had embarked at Trieste, and landed at Hydra, accompanied by Gregory Cantacuzena. Other patriotic Greeks, who were following him, were detained by the British authorities at Ce-

* Raybaud. This sensible and judicious writer will be our principal guide to the end of the year 1823.

phalonia. Being regarded as the agent of Russia, to whom the Greeks still fondly looked for aid and protection, he was received at Hydra with salutes of artillery, and every demonstration of joy ; and after a stay there of nine or ten days, he proceeded to Astros, in the Morea, where the primates, the priests, and the soldiery hastened to meet him ; the women spread carpets in his way, and strewed the streets with laurels. All readily acknowledged him as the *Archi-strategos* (the title which had been given him at Hydra) of the Morea, the isles, and the other revolted provinces. The procession, on its return, halted at Vervena, a village in the mountains east of Tripolitza, distant five leagues from that town, and at that time the head-quarters of the Greek forces. Hypsilantis alighted before the church, and the clergy bestowed on him their benedictions. Mavromichális, who was waiting there for him, embraced him, saying, " My prince, my family and myself are ready to shed our blood for our country and for your highness ! " *

D. Hypsilantis was about twenty-six years of age ; his form was small and slender, his head bald, his voice thin and nasal, his manners stiff and cold, but he possessed the soul of a hero ; he was brave, disinterested, and honourable, and his military talents were, notwithstanding his youth, by no means despicable. He was altogether one of the most estimable characters which appeared during the struggle for independence.

The next morning, a general assembly was

* M. Raybaud.

held in the open air, in which Hypsilantis read the letters of his brother to the primates of the Morea. His secretary, the deacon Vamvas, then delivered a patriotic discourse, which strongly affected all present. There were many, however, of the primates and captains, who either found their private views impeded by the authority which he claimed, or thought that they discovered in his orders, though he signed them only as *Lieutenant of the Commissioner-General*, too great a degree of assumption. This suspicion was augmented by the airs which the young men who came in his suite gave themselves, treating the rugged warriors of the Morea with that supercilious insolence, and tone of fancied superiority, which characterise the professed courtier.

Hypsilantis was anxious to get rid of the provisional senate. With this view, he proposed to the primates, for their acceptance, a sort of charter, consisting of twenty-four articles. By one of these, he formally reserved to himself the *supreme* and *absolute* command of the army. The jealousy and suspicion of the primates were excited; they openly declared that they would have no *Russian* tyranny; and they insisted on the maintenance of the democracy, by which they understood the oligarchy of the powerful families.

A man named Candioti was the bearer of the prince's *ultimatum* to the primates, in which he declared, that if they did not accept what he proposed, he would leave them, and go to Epirus, whither he was invited by pressing letters. Candioti added of himself, that if they continued

refractory, the prince would bring ten thousand bayonets from Russia to reduce them to order. This bravado had an effect the very opposite of what it was intended to produce, and the primates gave a positive refusal. Hypsilantis gave out that he would proceed to Calamata, and embark for Epirus. The primates were a whole day without going near him ; in the evening, they went to wait on him, but found him and his attendants mounted and ready to set out. They made no opposition to his departure. After passing the whole night in seeking their way through dreary woods and mountains, a long miserable roads, the prince and his suite arrived in the morning at Londari, a town distant about seven leagues from Tripolitza. He was resuming his journey, when he was overtaken by the old captain Anagnostaras, who had been dispatched by the senate to entreat him to return ; for the primates had been terrified by the murmurs of the people, the troops having threatened to disband, if the *Lord* was not there to command them. One cause of this affection of the troops for him was, probably, their knowledge of the funds which he had at his disposal, arising from the portion of his sister Maria, and the voluntary contributions of the Hetairists. Hypsilantis, whose departure was, perhaps, nothing more than a feint, readily consented to return, and his reappearance in the camp caused the most lively demonstrations of joy among the soldiers and the people.

The assumptions of D. Hypsilantis, like those of his brother Alexander, were undoubtedly too high, and betrayed an ignorance of the selfish,

interested character of the greater part of those through whose efforts alone success against the enemy was to be expected. The opposition of the primates to him was not so utterly unreasonable as his advocates would represent it to be ; for they might very naturally ask by what right he claimed the supreme authority over them, or what he had done more than they for the common cause ? His strongest support was the favour of the people, who knew the characters of their chiefs, and the necessity of some one to control them.

Hypsilantis, on his landing in the Morea, had, in virtue of the powers which he claimed as commander-in-chief, appointed George Typaldos, a native of Cephalonia, who had been one of the companions of his journey, to take the command of the troops blockading Navarino, and sent A. Cantacuzena, for the same purpose, to the camp of the Maniotes, who were besieging Monemvasia, or Napoli de Malvoisie.

Some French and Germans, military men, and classic enthusiasts, had accompanied Hypsilantis and Cantacuzena to Greece. and several others arrived in the course of the summer. None of these men had any previous accurate ideas of the actual state of the Greeks, of the ignorance, barbarity, ferocity, and timidity produced by the debasing influence of centuries of slavery, of the venomous animosity existing between them and the Turks, of the total want of every thing connected with civilized warfare, and of the extreme toils and privations which were to be undergone by those who came to aid their cause. *Hence many soon retired in disgust from*

the society of those whom their imagination had painted in the colours of the heroes of Plutarch, and their reports tended to do disservice to the Hellenic cause in Europe. One of the first efforts of these European auxiliaries had been to establish a newspaper (*The Hellenic Trumpet*) at Calamata. The remark of Kyriacooli the Maniote, "Our ancestors needed not journals to transmit to posterity the memory of the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea—we must conquer before we discuss," sufficed to show the modes of thinking of the descendants of the compatriots of Leonidas and Pausanias.*

We shall not at present stop to narrate any of the particulars of the sieges of Tripolitza and Monemvasia, to which we shall presently return, and relate them consecutively. In concluding this chapter, we will again observe, that the population of the twenty cantons into which the Morea was divided amounted to 460,000 souls, of which not more than a fifth was Turkish; that the number of these last, in the different strong towns and fortresses, was 55,000, who were besieged by less than 20,000 ill-armed, undisciplined Greeks.†

* Pouqueville, ii. 585.

† Soutzo, p. 118. Raybaud, i. 297.

CHAPTER XVI.

Insurrection in Samos—Turkish ship of the line burnt—Destruction of Cydonia—Massacre at Smyrna—Insurrection in Crete—Fruitless attack on Samos—Turkish transports burnt—Ineffectual attack on the Turkish fleet—Insurrection in Macedonia—Affairs of Western Greece—Turkish officers killed by Ali Pasha.

THE isle of Samos had early joined in the insurrection, and the people had everywhere fallen on and massacred the Turks. A senate was formed to direct the public affairs; 6000 men, able to bear arms, were ready to defend the liberty which they had seized; the Ipsariotes, on being applied to, sent them cannon; and the port of Vathi, at the mouth of the Imbrasos, the only accessible spot on the whole coast of the island, was put into a state of defence. As several of the Samians had been in the Russian and other services, the proposal was made and adopted of disciplining their troops after the European fashion; and 3000 men were regimented, and drilled by those who had acquired some knowledge of European tactics. From the security which its local advantages gave it, Samos became the refuge of the Christians of Asia, whence they were, as from Ipsara, dispersed over the more remote isles. The Samians, to punish the cruelty of the Turks, made various expeditions to the continent, where they defeated all that opposed them, and returned to their

island with booty and prisoners, which last they only dismissed for heavy ransoms.

About the middle of May, a Turkish squadron, composed of one ship of the line, two frigates, three corvettes, and two brigs, commanded by the vice-admiral Mehemet-bey, and manned with galley-slaves from the Bagnio, and vagabonds of all sorts that could be collected, set sail from Constantinople for the Archipelago. After spending several days coasting the basin of the Propontis, and plundering the towns on the Asiatic coast, the fleet, on receiving imperative orders from the Sultan to use dispatch, passed the Dardanelles, and made sail for Imbros. Seeing the Greek squadron, the Turks sailed warily along the isle of Tenedos, and at length cast anchor at the isle of Mitylene.

The Greek fleet was composed of twenty-two Hydraote, nine Spetziote, and seven Ipsariote vessels. Their size, and the smallness of their guns, did not suffer them to entertain hopes of being able to attack the large vessels of the Turks with any certainty of success, and many various plans were discussed in the councils of war which they held. At length, an old Ipsariote captain got up, and said, "In 1770, when the Turkish fleet was lying in the Bay of Tsesmé, the Russians sent against it a sort of fire-ships, and burnt it to ashes. I was one of those who managed those fire-ships; I know how to make them, and I will warrant their success." His suggestion was forthwith adopted. Three old vessels were placed at his disposal, and he converted them into fire-ships. A hundred dollars were promised by the admiral to every man who would

volunteer to navigate these vessels; but men in abundance presented themselves, without asking any recompense.*

The Turks, finding themselves blockaded by the Greek squadron, directed their ship of the line to make sail for the capital, and hasten the departure of the capitan pasha to their relief. The Greeks, having given time for the Turkish vessel to get out to sea, pursued and surrounded it. The Turk sought refuge at the entrance of the Gulf of Adramythium. One of the fire-ships, commanded by the Ipsariote, Papa Nicholas, escorted by four brigs, advanced to-

* The following is a good description of the Greek fire-ships, and the mode of managing them:—"An old vessel, but one that can sail well, is selected; every thing valuable is taken out of her; her inside is daubed with a composition of pitch and sulphur, and filled with furze, or light combustibles; several new hatches are cut along the deck on each side, under each of which is placed a small cask of powder; the rigging is well daubed with tar, and the ends of the masts armed with hooks, that they may catch and entangle in the enemy's rigging. When every thing is ready, a train of powder is laid from the combustibles, communicating with each cask of powder, and leading to the stern of the hulk; then, with all sail set, she is run directly for an enemy's ship; the sailors, generally twenty in number, crouch behind the bulwarks, to hide themselves from the shot, and the moment she strikes against the ship meant to be burnt, every man leaps into the boat, which is kept ready, drifting astern. The captain fires the train and follows them, and leaving the hulk, of which every spar, rope, and sail, is in an instant in one broad blaze, to grasp in its fiery embrace the enemy's vessel, they pull rapidly away, with from twenty to thirty oars, and try to gain the vessel appointed to pick them up."—*Howe's Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution.*

wards the Turkish ship, whose crew, taking it for a brig of war, prepared to attack it. Meantime, the four brigs kept up an incessant fire on them, to engage their attention, and the fire-ship having been attached to her poop, she was soon in a blaze; the Turks got as fast as they could into their boats, to make for the shore, which but two of them reached. The number of those who perished was 550.* The Turkish vice-admiral, on hearing this disaster, thinking himself no longer safe where he was, put to sea with all expedition, and his fleet, though closely pursued, at length got under the protection of the cannon of the Dardanelles.

It is said† that the Greek admiral had formed the bold plan of an attack on Smyrna, in conjunction with the Samians and the people of Cydonia; and with this view, he directed his course to the latter place, to induce the inhabitants to join in the insurrection.

Cydonia, called by the Turks Aivali, is situated on the coast of Asia Minor; its population amounted to 35,000 persons, all Greeks, and governed by their own magistrates. It was founded about the middle of the 18th century; it exceeded all the other towns in the regularity of its houses and streets. Its commerce and its manufactures were very considerable, and the manners of its inhabitants were more polished than those of the people of other towns. The Cydonians, though several of their richest mer-

* Soutzo.—MM. Pouqueville and Raybaud make Sigri or Grizzo, on the west coast of Mitylene, the scene of this action.

† Pouqueville, iii. 14.

had already taken refuge at Ipsara, were general, disposed to revolt; but the pasha, when he heard of the retreat of the fleet, being apprehensive of the prof the Greek commander, sent 3000 men and Cydonia against an attack, and, to the people in order, if necessary. On the one, the pasha's lieutenant entered the with 600 men; but the senate, partly by y, partly by force, made him leave it and s position on a neighbouring eminence. antly sent off a courier to the pasha, and y came 3000 janizaries, with whom he ossession of the principal quarters of the The wealthier of the remaining inhabit- d taken refuge on the little isle of Mo- at the entrance of the bay. The popu- was now reduced to about 18,000 souls, the 15th, the Greek squadron of seventy ne in view. Their first object was to take lonians and their property off the isle of nisi, and remove them to a place of greater

The Turks offered no impediment even people who remained in the town, to

Emboldened by this timid and unusual t of the Turks, the Greek mariners re- to land and attack them. At nine o'clock morning, a crowd of boats put off, and their men on the mole; the Turks, from ighbouring houses, maintained an obsti- stance, but were at length driven into rn, which they set fire to in several places. ntest lasted till night: the loss of the Turks 0 men, *that of the Greeks about 200.* *maining part of the inhabitants who had*

taken share in the engagement, hastened to get on board the Greek boats; the flames spread rapidly, and soon Cydonia was a heap of ashes, and her entire population on board the Grecian fleet. The ships were so crowded, that the admiral's vessel, the Themistocles, had, besides her crew, 800 Cydonians on board. Fortunately, four vessels arrived from Hydra, and in some measure removed the inconvenience which the fleet suffered by being thus heavily laden.

About this time, the Hydraotes had sent another fleet of sixteen sail to sea, which we have already seen acting in the Gulf of Lépanto. The squadron of James Tombasis, after landing the Cydonians at Ipsara, made a second cruize to the mouth of the Dardanelles, and returned to Hydra, where they arrived on the 25th June.

The insurrection of Samos, and the successes of the Greek fleet, had roused the fanatic spirit of the Turks of Smyrna, where a number of innocent Greeks became the victims of their fury. The European consuls and commanders of vessels exerted themselves most laudably in saving the wretched Greeks from the daggers of the fanatic Moslems. But it is asserted* that the ministers of the Christian powers at Constantinople authorized the officers of the Porte to search the European vessels, and thus cut off the Greeks from this refuge from destruction. These orders were forwarded to the different consuls, and the French consul of Smyrna soon saw himself compelled to act on them.

* Raffenet. Pouqueville.

A Sardinian vessel, under the French flag, as lying in the roads beside some French ships. The captain had taken 250 Greeks on board, who had paid him handsomely for aiding their escape. He put to sea, intending to land them at Tino. An Algerine sloop of war was dispatched by the pasha in pursuit of him, and forced him to take refuge under the protection of the French frigate the Joan of Arc, whose captain, not knowing any thing of the treaty to which the Algerine appealed, refused to let him touch the Sardinian. He went to inform the French consul of what had occurred, and, meantime, received all the Greek passengers on board the frigate. The consul, after some interviews with the pasha, found himself obliged to send instructions to the captain of the frigate to put the Sardinian vessel into the hands of the Turks, and to send the crew and passengers to the consulate. All was done as desired, and all who had been on board of her, as well crew as passengers, were delivered by the consul to the pasha, who promised that nothing should be done to them. Letters were written on both sides to Constantinople, to learn what should be the decision of the divan. Any uncertainty which might have prevailed on the subject, was, however, at an end in a few days, when it was known that all the persons placed in the hands of the pasha had been put to death!

It may appear severe to blame the European governments for not taking the side of the rebels against the Porte,—and nothing could be more pernicious than the maxim of the right of strangers to interfere between a prince and his

subjects,—but, in truth, the ordinary rules of public law cannot apply to such faithless, inhuman barbarians, as the Ottomans. In the present case, had rebels (which the Smyrna Greeks were not) been given up to a civilized government, there would have been some chance of their being admitted to make their defence and prove their innocence. But giving up Greeks to the Turks was, in fact, delivering them to the executioner—was becoming accomplices in their murder, for they were certain of death the moment they fell into the hands of their tyrants. The justest and best neutrality, perhaps, which the Christian powers could have kept, would have been that of giving refuge to each party from the fury of the other.

During the month of June, the Turks of Crete, who are esteemed the most sanguinary and fanatical in the empire, had murdered a great number of the Greeks; and on the 24th of the month, after making a general massacre of the Christians in Canea, they sent to summon the independent tribes of the south of the isle to give up their arms.

The mountains which run east and west along the southern coast of the isle of Crete, have, owing to their inaccessibleness, been at all periods the abode of liberty. The Greek inhabitants of them are called Sphakiotes, from the name of the district in which they dwell, which has a port of the same name, Sphakia, opposite the coast of Africa, and only a few leagues distant from the town of Rhetimos. The Sphakiotes had maintained a total independence till the year 1770, when, having joined the Rus-

sians, a corps of 15,000 Turks penetrated their mountains, and forced them to engage to supply ice and snow in the summer to the towns of Rhetimos and Canea, and each winter some bags of the celebrated chestnuts of their mountains, as an acknowledgment of the Sultan's superiority. A tribe of Mohammedans, called Abadiotes, and said to be the descendants of the Saracens, who possessed the isle in the ninth century, are the neighbours, and usually the enemies, of the Sphakiotes in these mountains.

The elders of Sphakia, on learning the designs of the Turks, resolved on resistance; to strengthen themselves, they sent deputies to the Abadiotes, to represent to them that the common liberty of the people of the mountains was endangered, and to pray of them to forget all former feuds and enmities, and to join with them in its defence. The Abadiotes lent a willing ear to their arguments, and bread and salt, and the flesh of goats, were eaten together by both parties, in testimony of union and amity. An answer was meantime sent to the demand of the pasha of Canea, signifying that they could not comply with it, but were willing to unite with him for the defence of their common country. They soon, however, learned that the pashas of Canea, Rhetimos, and Candia, were uniting their forces with the intention of attacking them. They instantly dispatched two of their barks, laden with oil, honey, and wax, to be sold at Malta, and the proceeds laid out in the purchase of arms and ammunition; and directed the crews to inform the traders there, that there

were abundance of commodities ready to be sold for that kind of goods.*

A number of Sphakiotes, dwelling in Asia Minor, had been assembled by a brave young man, named Antony Melidonos, and had returned to Sphakia under his command. The vizir of Canea, on learning his arrival, being aware of his talents and influence, sent a renegade to endeavour to corrupt him. Melidonos, taking the envoy aside, told him to inform him who had sent him, that, instead of the ordinary tribute, he must, in future, look to receiving nothing but musket balls and fragments of rock from the mountains of Sphakia. Next day, the rebellion was proclaimed through all the district.†

The Sphakiotes proposed to raise the Greek inhabitants of the remainder of the island, who, they calculated, might furnish them 20,000 men capable of bearing arms. With this view, 900 of them, led by Melidonos and others, crossed Mount Ida, and descending into the plains inhabited by the Turks, advanced towards Canea, the ancient Cydon. The Turks of this town came out to meet them; the action took place on the 2d July; the infidels were put to flight at the first discharge, leaving their dead, whom the victors burnt on the field of battle: they were equally unsuccessful on the 6th, after which they were forced to shut themselves up within Canea. The Greeks ran to arms on all sides; and the Turks were obliged to confine themselves within the walls of the towns, where they

* Pou queville.

† Soutzo.

made the unfortunate Greek inhabitants feel their vengeance.

At Stanchio, the ancient Cos, 900 Christians were, in spite of the efforts of the pasha, massacred by the fanatic Moslems. At Rhodes, the Turks, when they heard that the Greek cruisers had cast a number of hajjees, going to Mecca, into the sea, rose and slaughtered 3000 persons of all ranks; a fourth of the Greek population of the isle.*

The Turkish fleet, commanded by Kara Ali, the capitan-pasha, in person, was now under sail for Samos, with orders to put to death all the male inhabitants above the age of eight years. A land army, under the command of Elez Aga, the hereditary prince of Caria, was to be landed on the island to carry the commands of the Sultan into execution. This army, composed of wild, ferocious Asiatics, was appointed to rendezvous at Khoozadah, or Scala Nova, a town near the mouth of the Cayster, in the Gulf of Ephesus. On their way thither they plundered the villages, and massacred the peasantry; at Scala Nova, the presence of Elez Aga kept their sanguinary propensities under restraint till the arrival of a body of ferocious ruffians, whom the government of Smyrna, anxious to get rid of them, had encouraged to go share in the massacre and plunder of the *jowers* of Samos. For some days, the firmness and vigour of Elez Aga, who hanged the first of them who began to plunder, and whose faithful troops drove them

* The entire population was 37,000, of which, 12,000 were Greeks, 1000 Jews, the remainder Turks.

out of the town, protected the inhabitants ; but new swarms arriving, they broke through all restraints—massacred the people—burnt the town ; and then disbanding, retired up the country with their plunder and their slaves. The Sultan laid hold on this pretext for banishing Elez Aga to Chios, and seizing his territory, which he turned to a Sanjac, by which means he had the appointment and removal of the governor in his own power. It was something like the Roman system of converting countries into provinces ; and the just and moderate rule of the worthy Elez Aga gave way to the rapacity of a pasha, who purchased his place, and would, of course, make the people pay for it.*

On the 14th July, the capitan-pasha passed the Dardanelles, with four sail of the line, five frigates, and twelve corvettes and brigs. His fleet sailed in two divisions, and united on the 17th off the isle of Samos. Having taken on board such troops as he could collect from Scala Nova, he resolved to try a *coup-de-main* against the port of Vathi. The Samiotes suffered some hundreds of his men to land, and advance till they were out of reach of the cannon of the ships, and then attacked and destroyed the whole of them ; the boats, which were advancing with reinforcements, instantly put back to the fleet ; and after wasting powder against the rocks of Samos, the capitan-pasha sent several of his vessels to the coast of Asia for fresh troops.

The Greek fleet of 110 sail of vessels, carrying from sixteen to eighteen guns, was in the vicini-

* Pouqueville.

ty, and immediately made sail in pursuit of these Turkish ships. On coming in sight of the harbour of Tzanakli, the Greeks saw eight Turkish transports coming out of it; the Turks, perceiving the Greeks, put back; the Greeks, sending some of their vessels after them, landed a party to seize some batteries raised before a camp which the Turks had in this place. The troops who were on board the transports, landed and posted themselves in a wood, whence they kept up a smart fire of musketry; they were, however, soon driven from it by the grape-shot from the Greek ships, and some of the boats of the squadron then approached the transports without any danger, and burnt them. The enemy's book of signals fell on this occasion into the possession of the Greeks.

The Greek squadron, having entered the canal of Samos to reconnoitre the Turkish fleet, saw it sailing towards the south; for it had orders to effect a junction with that of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, which was lying at Rhodes—consisted of fourteen sail, having 2000 Albanians on board. A council was held by the Greek captains, in which it was debated whether, and how, they should venture to attack an enemy so superior in force. The salvation of Greece, they knew, depended, in a great measure, on their fleet, and it consequently behoved them to be extremely cautious how they hazarded it unnecessarily; on the other hand, it was of the utmost importance to endeavour to do some injury to that of the Ottomans. All finally acceded to the opinion of the navarch Tombasis, *which was, to divide the squadron into four di-*

visions, the Hydraote ships to form the first two, the Špetziote and Ipsariote the remaining two divisions, and each to have in it two fire-ships. These four divisions were to be directed against the four ships of the line of the enemy.

In this order, the squadron sailed from Colones, where it had anchored, and came up with the enemy off the Isle of Cos ; but just as the Greeks were putting off their fireships, the wind changed and blew in their faces. The Turks, taking advantage of their confusion, gave chase, discharging their artillery with great fury. Three of the fire-ships were abandoned and set fire to by their crews; a fourth fell into the hands of the enemy after its crew had left it.

The Greeks returned to Colones, and landed some military stores for the Samians ; and then, not discouraged at hearing of the junction of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets, they sailed to Patmos, where the patriarch of Alexandria, who had sought refuge there, gave them his benediction, and took a seat in their council. It was resolved to go again in quest of the enemy. The squadron was now disposed in two divisions, with the fire-ships in their centre. On coming up with the combined fleet, another ineffectual attempt was made with the fire-ships, some of which were lost, owing to the disobedience to orders of some of the captains, in consequence of which, but a part of the fleet was engaged ; and nothing but the cowardice or ignorance of the Turks prevented their taking advantage of the confusion which ensued. The two fleets remained for several days in sight of each other, without either attempting any thing. The

Turkish fleet then made sail for the Morea, and having re-victualled Coron and Modon, it arrived, on the 27th August, off Patras.

The peasantry in Macedonia participated in the general spirit of insurrection against the Turks : they assembled in arms, under the guidance of a captain named Manuel Papas ; the Turks and Jews of Salonica advanced into the plain to meet them, and after a conflict of some hours, the Greeks were forced to retire, leaving their dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. Ahmed, bey of Yenijáh, having received some reinforcements of troops, went over the country, burning the villages and massacring the peasantry. At Vasilica, he met an obstinate resistance ; and at Polyhieros, the Greeks, despairing of safety, sold their lives at the rate of one for four of those of the enemy present.

The Greeks, flying before Ahmed-bey, took refuge in the peninsula of Cassandria, the ancient Pallene. They dug a fosse, and threw up some intrenchments across the narrowest part of the peninsula, at the town of Pinaca ; the Ipsarians sent them some cannon ; and the brave captain Diamantes landed with 500 Albanian palicares to aid them, from Bœotia, in the end of June. On the 4th of July, he reached Pinaca, just as Yoosoof pasha, who had been sent to replace Ahmed-bey, was preparing to attack the works of the Greeks.

The troops of Yoosoof, though twice repulsed, succeeded in a third attempt at forcing a passage into the peninsula. They were advancing towards Pinaca, when they were received by *so smart a discharge* of musketry, that the

vanguard fell back on the centre. Diamantes was making a movement to get between them and the trench which was behind them, when a cry of "Run! run!" was heard in their ranks. They were seized with a panic, and fled, leaving 500 men dead; and seven standards, and several chests of ammunition, fell into the hands of the Greeks. Yoosoof still continued to block up the entrance of the peninsula; and as he suspected the Albanians in his army of being well affected towards the enemy, and of having raised the cry of "Run! run!" to which he attributed, in a great measure, the repulse which he had met with, he discharged them. But this only increased the evil. They had hardly left his camp, when they joined a number of depredators, who harassed him, and cut off all his communications with Salonica, which was twenty leagues distant; and as the Greeks were masters of the sea in those parts, his position became extremely embarrassing.

In Thessaly, Mahmood pasha was closely pressed by the troops of Klephts from the surrounding mountains, and he was incessant in his applications for reinforcements. Thus in all quarters the Christian inhabitants of Greece and the isles were, at the end of June 1821, in total or partial insurrection against their Mohammedan masters, and so far compromised, that their only hopes of safety lay in victory.

Khoorsheed pasha meantime determined on making another attempt at reducing Acarnania. He had succeeded in relieving Arta, in which *he had placed*, as governor, Hassan pasha; and *he now bent his efforts towards recovering the*

castles of Playa and Teke, which the Greeks had held for the last two months. He accordingly ordered his selictar to set out with 3000 men, and to take an equal number from Arta; these were to be joined by a division from Prevesa, and the whole to march against the two castles, which were in such a state as to be almost incapable of defence.

On the 15th July, the army of the selictar was discovered near the village of Combati by the Greek advanced guards. An action immediately commenced; the troops of the selictar were speedily routed, and himself slain. The Greeks pushed their advantage, and occupied the mountains in the vicinity of Arta; and a chief, named Yanoki, having posted himself in the defile of Koomkhadez, Khoorsheed was once more cut off from communication with the south of Epirus.

It was now the month of Ramazan, during which the nations of Mohammedan faith usually abstain from war, according to the usage of the Arabs and the neighbouring people, even as early as the days of Moses. Khoorsheed was therefore obliged to suspend his operations till the fast should have expired; and even Ali Tebelin seemed to respect the rights of custom and of religion. During the kind of truce which took place, his soldiers mingled with the advanced guards of the enemy, several of whose plans thus came to his knowledge.

Among other things, he learned that the staff of the ser-asker, in reliance on the sanctity of the festival of the *Baïram*, intended to repair to the great mosque of Loocta, the only one in

Jannina which had escaped the conflagrations. Ali gave out that he was very far from wishing to disturb or impede the devotions of the faithful, and that they had nothing to apprehend on his part; but he secretly gave directions to Carreto, his engineer, to point thirty pieces of ordnance against the mosque. To his soldiers, he said, that he intended to honour the Bâïram by discharges of artillery; and they went to perform their devotions at a mosque within the fortress. As soon, however, as he had learned that the Turkish officers were in the mosque of Loocta, he gave the signal: the artillery thundered; after a quarter of an hour, when the smoke had dispersed, the mosque was a heap of ruins, and the cypresses around it flaming like torches. Sixty officers and 200 men had perished. "*Ali Pasha is not dead!*" cried the old satrap in exultation, as he beheld what he had done.

CHAPTER XVII.

Arrival of Mavrocordátos—Surrender of Monemvasia—of Navarino—Engagement at Patras—Arrival of Mavrocordátos at Tripolitza—Camp before that Town—Characters of the Chiefs—Affair of Kaki Scala—Direction of the artillery given to M. Raybaud—Battery erected—Arrival of Mr Gordon.

ON the 3d August, Prince Alexander Mavrocordátos, the nephew and minister of Carajo, the late hospodar of Valachia, who had been living in Tuscany, arrived at Mesolonghi. He had freighted a vessel from Marseilles with

stores necessary for the Greeks ; and he was accompanied by about seventy Greeks, who were returning from France, Italy, and Germany, to the service of their country. There were also on board some French and Piedmontese officers desirous of drawing their swords in the cause of Greek emancipation ; among these was M. Raybaud, who has published the excellent work to which we shall so frequently have occasion to refer in the course of our narrative. After a delay of a few days at Mesolonghi, Mavrocordátos passed over to the Greek army before Patras, intending to proceed thence to Tripolitza.

The very day that Mavrocordátos landed, was that of the surrender of Monemvasia, or Napoli di Malvoisie.* This town lies at the east side of the mountains of Laconia, to the south of the entrance into the gulf of Nauplia, or Argos. It is built on the little island of Minoa, on the left side of the harbour, which has been joined to the mainland by a bridge, on piles of amazing strength and solidity. It is so strong by its position, that the Turks did not hesitate on shutting themselves up in it, to slaughter the Greeks who dwelt in the suburbs. The siege of it was formed at the commencement of the insurrection, by the people of the villages in the country extending from it to Cape Malio, while five Hydraote brigs entered the road, to invest it by sea. The besiegers, un-

* It was called Monemvasia (*one entrance*) on account of the form of its harbour, or rather of the town itself. Malvasia, the name given to it by the Venetians, is plainly a corruption of that word, as Napoli is of Neapolis (*New Town*.)

used to military operations, had made no progress, when Mavromichális came in person to conduct the siege. The Turks, who had been taken by surprise when the insurrection broke out, had not had any time to lay in provisions; their sufferings, therefore, soon became extreme, and it is asserted that they had lived for some time on the bodies of their enemies. They therefore offered to surrender to Gregory Cantacuzena, whom Hypsilantis had sent to direct the operations of the siege, on condition of their lives and arms being secured, their being allowed to take with them their portable property, and their being conveyed to the coast of Asia. These terms were at once agreed to, and the town was surrendered on the 3d August, the very day, as we have observed, on which Mavrocórdatos landed at Mesolonghi. The firmness of Cantacuzena caused the first article to be rigorously observed, but the plundering propensities of the Maniotes were too strong to allow of his being equally successful in the second part. The Turks were landed on a desert islet, equidistant from Samos and the continent, whence the French consul at Scala Nova had them conveyed to that city. The treatment which these unfortunate people, who had lost almost all their property, experienced from their fellow-Moslems, was inhospitable and insulting; and they bitterly regretted the happiness which they had enjoyed and lost in the Morea.*

About ten or twelve days after the surrender of Monemvasia, the Turks who were in Nava-

* Raybaud, l. 343.

exhausted with toil and hunger, offered to capitulate on similar conditions. But they refused to surrender to Hypsilantis in person, or to some one acquainted with the usages of civilized society. Hypsilantis directed M. Tipaldo, a young Greek, who had spent a long time in Italy, and M. Baleste, a Frenchman, who was organizing the nucleus of a regular army at Calata, to proceed thither. These gentlemen, on arriving at Navarino, saw that the Greeks who were there, were not men to adhere to the articles of any capitulation; and they refused to compromise their own honour, or that of the prince, by taking any part in a treaty which they knew would be violated. The Turks accordingly were obliged to make their surrender to the captains of the irregular bands which besieged them, who engaged to transport them to Asia; but not one of these unhappy people ever held the shores of the Ægean; the greater part of them were barbarously and treacherously massacred; the remainder placed on the barren islet of Sphakteria, where they perished of famine.*

It was the intention of Mavrocordatos to continue at Patras some days, to seek to establish a perfect harmony among the chiefs, and arrange a plan of attack and defence in their future operations. The Greek army before that was consisted of about 6000 men, ill clad, ill fed, ill armed; there was no commander-in-chief,

* Raybaud, i. 426. Sphakteria is celebrated as the scene of the calamity of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war. In 1770, a number of Greeks, who fled to it from the Turks, perished of hunger.

as the archbishop Germanos, who possessed a good deal of authority over them, did not assume that office; they were divided into separate companies, in general commanded by their primates, or by captains of their own choice; for, as there was no penalty for disobedience or indiscipline among these men, who were all volunteers, they quitted their companies as they liked; and a captain who saw himself to-day at the head of 1000 or 1500 men, perhaps in a fortnight had not half the number, his men having preferred the service of some more fortunate or more enterprising chief. Even a common soldier, if he happened to distinguish himself by any brilliant action, often became a leader, as a number of his comrades would attach themselves to him, and acknowledge him as their chief. Whenever any extraordinary operation was to be performed, the captains met in council, but tumult and anarchy always prevailed in their deliberations, and no plan or measure in which all should concur was adopted. If the enemy made a sortie, whoever was nearest, or whoever pleased, might advance to oppose him; if the affair became general, they still did not think themselves obliged to support each other. They retired when they took the fancy, without ever reflecting what the effect of their so doing might be on those who were engaged with the enemy. Hence they often lost advantages which some degree of unanimity and perseverance might have secured.* Their artillery consisted of two small field-pieces, in bad order. It was there-

* Raybaud. This description applies to the Greek armies in general at the breaking out of the war.

only by blockade that they could hope to succeed against the castle of Patras, though it is incapable of resisting a regular attack. The garrison was composed chiefly of *Lalaotes*, the bravest Mussulmans in the Morea, and *Yoosoof* pasha, their commander, was not devoid of military skill. The Greeks, moreover, were never able to interrupt their communication with the castle of Morea, distant about three leagues; and the garrison was constantly supplied with provisions from Zante and Cephalonia.

On the 14th August, while *Mavrocordatos* was with the Greeks before Patras, the Turks made a vigorous sally. The Greeks, encouraged by the presence of the Prince and the European officers, did not, as was their usual custom, wait to be attacked, but, quitting their camp at the foot of the mountains, boldly advanced into the plain between it and the town, to meet the enemy. When the engagement had lasted two hours, the Turks retired in disorder to a burial-ground, which was walled in, and lay at some distance from the ramparts, and to which they had, the preceding evening, conveyed three huge pieces of cannon. *Yoosoof* pasha, on seeing this, sallied from the town, at the head of some fresh troops, and drove the Greeks back towards their camp; but the fire of the petty artillery of the Greeks was so well sustained and directed, that the enemy was again forced to retire; and after making several ineffectual attempts to maintain his position on different little eminences around the burial-ground, he re-entered the castle, leaving a small party to protect his cannon. The French officers advised an attempt to take the

256 DEPARTURE OF MAVROCORDATOS.

cannon of the Turks during the night, and Mavrocordátos highly approved of the counsel; but the courage of the Greek soldiers seemed to have sunk with the sun, and they could not be induced to attempt it. The loss of the Turks was about one hundred men slain and fifteen prisoners, whose heads, as well as those of the dead men, were cut off by the victors. The Greeks had about twenty men killed and forty wounded.* Though there was a European surgeon on the spot, yet for want of proper instruments, linen to make bandages, &c. &c., several of the latter died of hemorrhage.

Having no farther occasion to remain at Patras, Mavrocordátos, and the French and Italian officers, set out for Tripolitza. At Calavrita, they saved the lives of the unfortunate Turks who had been confined there at the breaking out of the insurrection. But it was only a respite for them, as some time afterwards, they were massacred in cold blood by the barbarous Greeks. They here also met a Bavarian cavalry officer, who had gone on and spent two days in

* M. Raybaud says, that in some French and other journals which he saw some months afterwards, the loss of the Turks in this affair was stated at 1200 men. We have already observed how little reliance can be placed on the accounts of the number of killed and wounded in the affairs between the Turks and the Greeks. That the loss was, in general, greater on the side of the former, is, however, tolerably certain, as the Turks, being more courageous and better armed, exposed themselves boldly in the field; the Greeks usually got behind trees, walls, bushes, rocks, and thence fired to advantage on the enemy. The losses on either side were rarely considerable, as the firing was generally at too great a distance to do much mischief.

the camp before Tripolitza ; he was, like many others who had come out with high and unreasonable expectations, returning home disappointed and embittered. His representations had such an effect on the minds of the Piedmontese that they declined going any farther, and, in spite of the arguments and entreaties of Mavrocordátos, they went back with the German. On the 26th, Mavrocordátos, and the French officers entered the camp at Tripolitza.

The town of Tripolitza, the capital of the Morea, lies some miles from the ancient towns of Mantinea and Tegea, in a plain six leagues in its greatest length, and three in its greatest breadth. The hills which surround it are rocky, and devoid of vegetation. Water is conveyed to the town by a subterraneous passage from a spring to the south of it. It was defended by a wall about fourteen feet in height, and but twenty-eight inches thick at its top ; but behind this, and close joining it, was another wall, nine feet high. A small fort, within the walls, commanded the town.

The Greeks had been for two months encamped on the hills around Tripolitza. Their camp was now disposed in the form of a crescent on the hills nearest to the town, exposed to the burning heat of the sun, which was augmented by the reflection from the rocks, without a spring, a shrub, or the slightest trace of vegetation to relieve it.

There was more order and regularity maintained in this camp than in that before Patras, and the chiefs were much better obeyed by the soldiers. Colocotronis had succeeded in establish-

ing a considerable degree of discipline among his men. Operations were tolerably well combined; and provisions were distributed with some sort of regularity; but nothing had as yet been done towards providing for the care and relief of the wounded; and, if the natural vigour of his constitution was not adequate to his cure, the wounded soldier had nothing else to look to.

The total amount of the Greek troops before Tripolitza, was from 6000 to 7000 men, commanded by Colocotronis, Anagnostáras, Yatráko, and Peter Mavromichális, the bey of Mani. The division of Colocotronis, consisting of 2500 men, was the largest. This chief occupied the left extremity of the camp. Yatráko, with 1600 men, was posted at the right; and Anagnostaras, with 1000 men, in the centre. Mavromichális, with 1200 or 1500 of his Maniotes, had taken his station on the heights behind the camp. Prince Hypsilantis had his quarters in the part occupied by Anagnostaras. The captain Manotoki of Prasto, with 300 men, guarded the defiles leading to Argos and Napoli di Romania; the road to Londari was watched by 150 men under another captain.

These troops were ill armed in general, and utterly devoid of side arms; their guns had no bayonets, and they therefore could not engage in close combat with the Turks. Their artillery consisted of about ten guns of various sizes, the largest being an old brass eighteen-pounder, and three mortars, lately brought, with immense labour, over the mountains from Monemvasia, one *in good order*, the other two nailed up. All *were mounted in a most miserable manner.*

As all the Turks of the neighbouring cantons had, at the breaking out of the insurrection, retired to Tripolitza, and the entire tribe of the Boodiniotes from Laconia had sought shelter within its walls, and Elmas-bey had led thither 1500 Albanians from Patras, the number of fighting men in it amounted to near 12,000, of whom more than a fourth were horsemen. It was defended by sixty pieces of cannon ; and the *kiaya* of Khoorsheed pasha, who commanded it, was one of the most valiant of the Turkish chiefs. He was so dreaded by the Greeks, that he often was seen, at the head of forty horsemen, to drive 500 or 600 of them before him, like a flock of sheep.* The Greeks had therefore not yet ventured to meet the enemy in the plain ; they confined themselves to harassing them in their sallies, and trusted to time, disease, and famine, for their reduction.

As the principal persons who figured in the early part of the insurrection in the Morea were now in the camp before Tripolitza, we will pause, and give a sketch of their respective characters.

D. Hypsilantis has been already described. Mavrocordátos, who was some years older than he, had all those external qualities in which Hypsilantis was deficient. His countenance was manly and open ; his manners agreeable and insinuating. He was open-handed and liberal, even to profusion ; eloquent, and expert in ne-

* Raybaud, i. 378. In the commencement of the insurrection, the Greeks could not divest themselves of their habitual dread of the Turks. Victory afterwards gave them courage, and diminished the boldness and confidence of their enemies.

gotiation. The transactions in which we shall find him engaged, as we proceed, will fully develop all parts of his character.

Colocotronis was the son of a man, who, after giving the Turks most effectual aid against the Albanians after 1770, was put to death by them. Having with difficulty escaped from the murderers of his father, he had served in the Greek troops of the different powers who successively occupied the Seven Isles. He had frequently returned to the Morea, and putting himself at the head of parties of Klephts, made the Turks tremble within the walls of Tripolitza, and purchase his departure with considerable sums of money. He had risen to the rank of major in an Albanian regiment in the pay of England, when it was disbanded. As soon as the insurrection broke out, he returned to his country, and his reputation soon drew 700 or 800 men around him; a number which was now increased to 2500. This chief was about fifty years of age, totally illiterate, of a most robust and hardy constitution; his height was above the middle size; his countenance was harsh and thin.

Yatrako was distinguished, from his earliest years, for the love of medicine; a science in which he had made, without any instruction, and merely by long practice, some progress. His skill had procured him great favour with the Turks, who had allowed him to bear arms—a privilege not conceded to rayas in general. It was also, perhaps, the cause of his division being the most numerous, next to that of Colocotronis—as, a modern Machaon, he dressed the wounds of his soldiers with his own hands.

Anagnostáras was the oldest of all the captains. During forty years, he had maintained himself in the mountains of Arcadia; and the successive pashas of the Morea had vainly tried force, stratagem, and seduction, against him. His hair had grown white in incessant warfare against the oppressors of his country; but the vigour and activity of his limbs were undiminished. Of all the chiefs, though none was more used to independence, he was the most ready to yield obedience to the authority of Hypsilantis, and of the government which succeeded him. He was also particularly attentive to the foreigners who came to fight for the liberties of Greece.

Peter Mavromichális, the bey of Mani, was the son of the chief of that name, who took so noted a part in the transactions of the year 1770; he was now about fifty years of age. Though he had been one of the first to declare for the cause of independence, his character was one of inertness and sloth. He was also a noted *gourmand*, and delighted in high-seasoned Turkish dishes. His brother, Kyriacoolis, was his lieutenant at Tripolitza. This latter chief was extremely brave, but of an odd appearance; he wore immense whiskers, which he brought back and tied in a knot behind his head.

Much about the time that Mavrocordátos arrived at the camp, the Greeks had given a check to the besieged, which, joined with the tidings of the fall of Monemvasia, had greatly dispirited them. The kiaya had set out in person, at the head of a considerable party of cavalry, and followed by several beasts of burden, to levy a contribution on a village distant about five miles,

at the foot of the mountains which are cut by the defile of Kaki Scala. The peasants, who were at their work, fled to the heights; the captain Manatoki, who was charged with the defence of the passage, on being informed of the approach of the Turks, immediately set forward to attack them. Having taken a position where the Turkish cavalry could not manœuvre, he made a furious attack on them; the enemy, however, still kept their order, and they were beginning to effect their retreat with the corn which they had collected, when Colocotronis appeared at the head of 500 men. After a brief and feeble resistance, the kiaya was obliged to make a speedy retreat, having lost 100 of his men, and all his beasts of burden. The peasants, when they saw him put to rout, came down from the hills to fall on the fugitives; and had not a large body of troops come out of the town to protect his entrance, the formidable kiaya might have fallen into the hands of his enemies. The victorious Colocotronis returned in triumph to the camp, preceded by the heads of the slain Mussulmans, and followed by the beasts of burden. The Turks ventured no more to go to a distance from the town; and as the Greeks could not be induced to go far from the foot of the mountains, the besieged could never get the opportunity which they desired, of bringing them to a decisive action. The greater part of the day was usually consumed in distant and detached firing at each other, in which the loss was never great on either side. The Greeks sometimes caught some stragglers, whom they forthwith massacred, as a reward of three piastres (1s. 6d.)

was given for every Turk's head which was brought in.

The ignorant Greeks anticipated marvellous effects from their mortars, when they could be employed against the town, which they deemed could not fail to capitulate after a smart bombardment. No one, however, among them knew how to employ these formidable instruments; till an Italian adventurer, named Tassi, who had been ruined by some wild mercantile speculations at Smyrna, arrived in the camp, and, giving himself out for an officer of engineers, and the secret agent of some very high personages, and talking in mysterious terms of the assistance which might be rendered to the Greeks if he was able to report favourably of their spirit and their means, he succeeded in imposing on both the army and its chief.

This impostor took on himself the office of directing the Greek artillery, and it so happened that he was to give the first essay of his skill, by throwing a few bombs, on the very evening of the arrival of Mavrocordatos at the camp. Having waited on the French officers at their arrival, he begged of M. Raybaud to accompany him to a redoubt which he had constructed on the side of the hills, at the enormous distance of 700 fathoms from the town. M. Raybaud, and another officer, proceeded with him as he desired; a number of Greek soldiers, full of admiration of the Archimechanicos (*chief-engineer*), as Tassi pompously styled himself, preceded and followed them; the neighbouring heights were covered with Greeks watching for the effect of a thing altogether new to them.

Mavrocórdatos, Hypsilantis, and Cantacuzena; waited with impatience for the discharge of the first bomb.

The French officers, when they beheld the preparations which the Archimechanicos had been making, entreated of him to put off his experiments; and made him at last candidly confess that he knew nothing about what he had undertaken. But he dreaded to disappoint the expectations of the Greeks, and in a sort of desperation he put the match to the mortar. A dull heavy sound told that it was burst. As ill luck would have it, this mortar was the best of them. Tassi was therefore terrified at what he had done; and as the party returned, slowly and in silence, to their quarters, the murmurs of the word *Katáskopos* (*spy*), which they heard around them, made them fear for the life of the unlucky Italian. He did not dare to appear before Hypsilantis, and above all things, he dreaded the wrath of Colocotronis, who had been all along suspicious of him. In a couple of days after, the kind-hearted Hypsilantis gave him an opportunity of making his escape, and he left the camp with precipitation.

M. Raybaud was now requested to take on him the charge of directing the artillery. As the office was one from which much credit was not likely to redound, he was little disposed to undertake it. At length, yielding to the pressing instances of Hypsilantis, he assented, provided that all the captains were informed of the state which the mortars were in, and the great *likelihood* there was of their sharing the fate of the other. A council was accordingly held

in the tent of Hypsilantis, and after a long and grave discussion, it was resolved that it was just as well for the mortars to burst as to be useless; and M. Raybaud was directed to act as he judged best. They placed at his disposal two interpreters, a tolerably good carpenter, a wretched bad smith, and some Ionian sailors presented themselves to serve as gunners.

There were on the plain, between the camp and the town, three eminences, the last undulations of Mount Mænalus. On one of these, distant about 200 fathoms from the walls, M. Raybaud decided to establish a battery, composed of the mortars, and of some pieces of cannon. He set a number of men to work at it, but a shot from the town having killed one of them, the remainder lost courage, and taking advantage of the circumstance of their coming to the rock shortly afterwards, though the stone was perfectly friable, they broke off the work, and neither prayers nor menaces could induce them to return to it. M. Raybaud was therefore obliged to content himself with forming a square excavation on the top of the mount, entered by a covered way on the side away from the town.

After incredible labour, and every exertion of ingenuity to overcome the difficulties presented by want of the necessary materials and tools, and of skilful workmen, M. Raybaud succeeded in unnailing and mounting the mortars, and he had at length the gratification of obtaining results which satisfied him. The Greeks were transported with joy, and the departure of every bomb was accompanied with shouts which made Mænalus peal.

Delighted, however, as the Greeks were with their artillery, they were so little solicitous to guard it, that M. Raybaud was seriously apprehensive of its falling into the hands of the enemy. Every evening 150 men were left to protect it, but it was rarely that the dawn found any one of them at his post, for as they were much nearer to the enemy than to their own camp, they were afraid of being surprised before any could come to their aid. M. Raybaud was therefore obliged to adopt some other measures for the security of their *materiel*. The three eminences on the plain, the centre one of which was occupied by the battery, ran in an oblique line from the centre of the camp, from which the first was distant about 200 fathoms, to the end of the town where the citadel stood. The third of them, which was very close to the wall, was defended from the enemy's fire by a natural rampart of small rocks, behind which were posted 800 of Yatráko's men, with two field-pieces; and the height and proximity which they were at, enabled them to fire through the embrasures of the citadel, and even into the streets of the town. The first eminence was also occupied and defended by two pieces of cannon; and a chain of posts was thus established, which could easily communicate with and defend each other.

On the 5th September, 500 or 600 Greeks, encouraged by the apathy which the garrison had manifested for some days, ventured to approach so close to the town on the side away from the citadel, that they were enabled to establish themselves in the ruins of some burnt houses before one of the gates. Notwithstand-

ing the fire from the ramparts, they maintained their position for two hours, till a body of cavalry issued from the town in another part, with the intention of cutting off their retreat. The Greeks then retired in disorder, and several of them were wounded or made prisoners.

Soon after, Mr Gordon of Cairness, a Scotch gentleman, who had been in the Russian service, arrived in the camp, accompanied by several French and English officers, and some patriotic Greeks. He had freighted a vessel at Marseilles, in which he gave a passage to all who were desirous of aiding the Greek cause, and he brought as a present to the Greeks, three new howitzers and 600 muskets. Among his companions were a Mr Robertson, a physician named Katsovski, Mr Voutier, who had been a pupil in the French marine, the Greeks, Francopoólos, Rhodius, &c. &c. Mr Gordon was received with the utmost testimonies of gratitude and esteem by Hypsantis, and the chiefs of the Hellenic army.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Siege of Tripolitza continued—Intercourse of the Greeks and Turks—Assembly at Saracova—Departure of Mavrocórdatos and Cantacuzena—Distress of the Besieged—Traffic between the Greeks and the Albanians—Departure of Hypsantis—Battle of Fontana—Conference between the Greek Chiefs and the Besieged—Negotiations with the Albanians—Arrival of Booboolina—Traffic of the Greek Chiefs in Protections.

SCARCELY a day passed without one of the usual indecisive engagements taking place. The

Turks would issue from the town, the Greeks would press forward to meet them, shots in abundance would be fired, and little mischief done on both sides. If the kiaya dashed out at the head of his horsemen, on their Arabian chargers, firmly fixed in their deep saddles, and armed with carabines, pistols, daggers, yatagans, and sabres, the Greeks fled at once to the shelter of their rocks, for in the plain they could offer them no resistance. No one who considers the composition and condition of the Greek army, will, however, be in a hurry to charge with cowardice the men who were thus cautious how they exposed their lives. The Greek soldier had no pay, he had no medicine or medical aid if he was wounded, and there was no provision for himself or his family if he was maimed or slain.

As it was the Turkish cavalry that the Greeks most dreaded, the following expedient was adopted to diminish its number. The Turks, being masters of the plain on the other side of the town, used to pasture their horses on it, and a strong detachment left the town every morning for its protection, and took its post in the ruins of a village about 1200 paces from the ramparts. Colocotronis undertook to seize this post, and about an hour before day he occupied it with 100 men. The Turks, on arriving, as usual, and finding it in the hands of the enemy, turned back, without making any attempt to dislodge them. The post was held by the Greeks till the end of the siege, and was regularly relieved every night. Though the party posted *there was so small, no attempt was made by the*

Turks to recover possession of it, and as their horses had now no grass but what grew close to the walls, they began to die off rapidly.

The day was usually employed in little skirmishes ; in the evening, the Greek soldiers amused themselves with dancing to the music of a sort of hautboy and a tambourine, or they gathered around a wandering minstrel, who, to the twanging of his three-stringed mandoline, sung a lay of the exploits of some valiant Klepht, the patriotic strains of Rhigas, or verses on some event of the present war.

It was not unusual, also, for small parties of the Greeks, during the extreme heat of the day, at which time they rarely fought, to approach as near to the walls as they safely could. The Turks would then come out in small numbers, and having on both sides promised to do each other no injury, they would sit down in two lines, and smoke and converse together for hours. These conversations had occasionally, however, a tragic conclusion, as something would occur to produce a quarrel, which generally terminated to the disadvantage of those who were most distant from their friends. The chiefs endeavoured in vain to put an end to these proceedings, which served only to prolong the defence of the town ; for the soldiers, especially the Maniotes, who will do any thing for money, sold baskets of figs and grapes to the Turks, and at times there was a complete market opened under the cannon of the town.

Meantime an assembly was sitting at Saracova ; but several of the members were absent, and it proceeded slowly in its deliberations.

Vamvas proceeded thither to make known the claims of Hypsilantis, which differed little from those which he had advanced at Vervena. The assembly agreed to acknowledge him as president of the senate of the Morea, and commander-in-chief of its forces ; also as representative of that part of Greece in the general congress of the deputies of the nation, which was to be convoked as soon as possible, in order to establish a central government. In the interim, the assembly retained to itself the right of granting or refusing the Moreote troops to be employed in any expedition which the prince might be disposed to make beyond the peninsula. This last article was highly displeasing to Hypsilantis, and nothing was definitively arranged. He still exercised his usual authority over the people, especially the soldiers, whose attachment to him had suffered no diminution.

The army, it is to be observed, though under the command of military chiefs, did not cease to recognise the authority of the primates ; these were living quietly in their different cantons, managing the large estates of the Turkish agás, who were all fled or murdered, without accounting to any one for what came into their hands, and sending the necessary supplies of provisions to such of their people as were with the army.

A few days before the assembly of Saracova separated, Cantacuzena suddenly quitted the camp ; he was followed by Mavrocordátos, who overtook him in a village on the gulf of Napoli di Romania, and brought him back. The cause of his abrupt departure was said to have been

not bad, but his mind was inadequate to the conception and execution of any very extensive plan, and his manner gave ground for suspicion; they parted from him with a coolness indicative of a future rupture. Mavrocordatos set out for Ætolia to organize the operations in the provinces; Cantacuzena, who was given the same mission to the isles, did not execute it. He accompanied Mavrocordatos to Mesolonghi, and afterwards left Greece altogether. The operations of the siege did not slacken. The poor Greek women, who had escaped at various times out of the town, assured the chiefs that the inhabitants were beginning to experience all the horrors of famine; and that it was the intention of the Turks to leave it some distance off, and, placing the women and children in the midst of them, to force their way through the streets of Kaki Scala to Napoli di Romania. It was at that place we immediately set out to meet

dreadful example of him, as it was known that there were many Greeks who acted as spies for the enemy, spending their nights in the town, and their days in the camp. He was put to death with horrible tortures. That, however, did not deter others from following his example—the golden bait proving too attractive to be resisted by their patriotism.

The reward of three piastres for the head of every Turk slain with arms in his hands, was a great excitement to exertion on the part of the Greeks, who had adopted from their Mohammedan masters, the savage practice, unknown to their ancestors, of cutting off the heads of the slain. A Greek soldier, whose brother had been taken and put to death by the Turks in the affair of the 5th, met one day three young Turks in the mountains, about two leagues from the town, which they had left in search of food. He cut off the heads of two of them, and made the third carry them before him to the camp, where he was going to kill him, in order to have the reward for three heads. Hypsilantis had him instantly disarmed ; but gave him the nine piastres, not, he said, as the price of the three heads, but as a reward for sparing the life of the third Turk. This decision, however, did not accord with the soldier's idea of the rights of war, and he manifested his determination to have the life of his prisoner. The whole camp was of his way of thinking, and the affair might have been serious, had not the foreign officers besought the bishop of Helos, who possessed great influence over the minds of the soldiers, to explain to them the difference between manfully

an armed enemy in the field, and cowardly making a defenceless prisoner. The prescended a rock, and preached with great y for an hour. His eloquence proved effective and the life of the young Turk was spared. The intelligence which reached the camp

day of the melancholy state of the garrison and the rumours which arrived of the assembling of an army in Thessaly destined for relief, determined Hypsilantis to try an as-

The largest cannon were moved to the next the town, which was occupied by the men, and it was attempted to make a breach in the wall; but the wall proving too strong for the light artillery of the Greeks, this project was given up as impracticable. It was then resolved to take advantage of a dark night, to open two or three of the gates by fastening a kind of petard to them, and then rush into the town; but the Greeks did not find their courage yet adequate to so bold an action. They were equally disinclined to escalading the walls against the fire of the enemy; and Colocotronis, and some others, who had their own private reasons for it, were quite adverse to the project of gaining possession of the town in this manner. A small degree of discouragement was spread throughout the camp by the intelligence which reached on the 20th of September, of the appearance of a Turkish fleet of thirty-six sail, on the eastern coast of the peninsula. This was the united Turkish and Egyptian fleet, whose departure from Rhodes has been already mentioned. It had apparently designed to effect a

landing at Calamata ; but Colonel Baleste,* who was at that place organizing some regular troops, leading his men down to the beach to oppose them, the Turks, if they had the intention, abandoned it, and steered for Coron.

Baleste soon afterwards brought his little body of regulars, whose organization was but merely in the rough, to the camp, as he deemed that his own and their services might be now requisite. Mr Gordon had also formed a company, which he paid out of his own funds, and put under the command of his friend, Mr Humphries, and the two Greeks, Rhodius and Francopoolos. As he was not very confident of the fidelity and steadiness of his men, he adopted the useless (as it soon appeared) precaution of making them take an oath before the bishop of Helos, not to quit their colours for a certain time.

The arrival of the Turkish fleet off Patras had the effect of forcing the Greeks to give up the blockade of that city, and retire to the mountains. Some of the chiefs before Tripolitza, who knew the real state of things in the town, and were anxious to get Hypsilantis and his regular troops away from the camp—as they knew that, if he was there when the surrender should be made, he would exert all his influence

* This French officer was the first who joined the Greeks. He had been directed by Hypsilantis to organize a battalion after the European fashion. It was officered by Italians and Greeks, who had been in foreign service ; the uniform was black ; officers and men let their beards grow. The soldiers had French muskets, as the long guns of the Greeks were not adapted to the European mode of handling arms.

authority to have the terms of the capitulation adhered to—endeavoured to persuade that his presence was necessary in those is which were menaced by the enemy, and he ought, above all things, to have the trade of Patras resumed. Colocotronis, who did things with a high hand in all the coun- prevailed also in this case; all the members, or feigned to be, of his opinion; and Hyp- tis, the dupe of his stratagem, fixed his de- parture for the 28th of the month.

It was now evident that the fall of Tripolitza not far distant: old men, women, and chil- dren daily stole out of it, and made their way to a Greek camp. According to their report, soldiers alone had any food, and the people reduced to the extreme of misery. The Maniots had seized the best wells in the town, would let no one draw water without pay- ing for it; and they extorted money in every possible way from the governor and the inha- bitants. They carried on a traffic every night over the walls with the Greeks for their ra- tions, which they bought at an extravagant price, and sold again for ten times as much. The Ma- niots were, as was to be expected, the foremost in this traffic. Their captain, Kyriakoolis, sought vainly to check it by having musketry dis- charged on the traders, regardless whether Greek or Albanian were hit; the commerce went on with undiminished vigour. So ardent was the thirst of gain, that the Maniotes con- sidered themselves with the eighth part of a small fortune in order to sell the remainder, or even in the vilest substances, that they might

dispose of the whole. Sometimes the purchasers were so enraged at their exorbitance, that they fell on and massacred them ; still they were not deterred. A party of them had one day the audacity to seize the bread which the primates were sending to the camp, and to sell a part of it to the Turks. This exploit, however, was near having serious consequences, as the other soldiers were so enraged at the loss of their food, that they were with difficulty kept from taking vengeance on the robbers.

A few days before the departure of the prince, a soldier, sent by Elmas-agá, came out of the town to speak with Colocotronis. It was conjectured that the Albanian chief meditated abandoning the town, as it was observed that the envoy sold his arms to the Greeks, which looked as if it was apprehended that the surrender of them would be one of the conditions of allowing them to retreat. Another sign of the approaching fall of Tripolitza, was the descent of the Maniotes from their lofty station in the background. They were now in the first line ; they occupied the back of the eminence on which the mortars were placed ; or they had got into ravines formed by the rain, which extended almost up to the ramparts, ready to spring into the town, when the opportunity for carnage and plunder should present itself.

There can be no stronger proof of the mediocrity of Hypsilantis's mind, than his quitting the camp at such a conjuncture as this, when his presence might have restrained the excesses of a ferocious banditti ; and a military chest might have been formed out of the money which

the town contained. He departed, with a small field-piece, three or four gunners, and his little battalion of regulars, to watch the motions of the Ottoman fleet, and to oppose its landing ! All the foreigners, except M. Raybaud, who remained at his request, accompanied him. REGARD for their oath could not induce Mr Gordon's company to give up the certainty of plunder, and march with the prince. The command of the army was left with Mavromichális ; Anagnostopoolos, one of the prince's adjutants, remained to give him an account of whatever might occur during his absence.

The day after the prince's departure, the kiaya called before him two Greek priests who were in the town. " Dogs," said he, " go ask those rayas what it is they want, and what their designs are. Tell them, that, at the cost of a few heads, I will get them their pardon from the Sultan, if they will return to their duty." The unhappy priests, worn out with famine and suffering, tottered to the Grecian camp, where their appearance excited rage and commiseration ; the silly bravado of the kiaya, derision and contempt. They drew a dismal picture of the cruelties inflicted by the kiaya on such of the Greeks as were in the town when it was invested, especially on the hostages, most of whom were dead in consequence of the rigour with which they had been treated.

Each day the number of the besiegers augmented ; some left their villages, others the sieges of such places as were invested, to come and bear their part in the capture of Tripolitza. It was a *gathering together* of the eagles around

the carcass. The Grecian camp now encompassed the town; and the Turks, from their ramparts, viewed with dismay the increased numbers of their besiegers. The Maniotes looked with a jealous eye on the new comers. Disease manifested itself both within and without the walls; but its attacks on the besiegers were as nothing compared with its ravages among the besieged, who were now reduced to despair.*

All hopes of being relieved were now at an end; the army which was assembled in Thessaly was no more. It had been the intention of the Porte, that this army should enter the Morea by the Isthmus, and co-operate with the fleet of the capitan-pasha; and had the plan been accomplished, there can be little doubt but that it would have proved nearly fatal to the Greek cause. This army was commanded by the pashas Hajjee Beker, Behrem, Saïm Ali, and Mismih. The three last arrived at Zeitooni with 5000 men. After a halt of three days, they marched for Fontana, on their way to Livadia. Having passed the night of the 6th September at the village of Molo, not far from Thermopylæ, they sent forward next morning 300 picked men, to reconnoitre the passage. The Greeks, who were commanded by Dyvooniotis and Hervé-Gooras,† fell on them from an ambush,

* The chief cause of disease among the Greeks was their neglect of cleanliness and attention to health. The ground in the camp was everywhere covered with the putrefying heads of Turks, entrails of animals, and other filth.

† Odysseus is commonly thought to have been present at the battle of Fontana; M. Raybaud positively asserts that he was not there.

and slew them all but seven. Next day the Turks pushed on, determined to force their way; the conflict was most obstinate and well maintained: every moment the Turks saw fresh enemies appear; they combated man to man, with swords and daggers; the blood streamed along the plain. At length, after a conflict of three hours, the Turks were obliged to quit the field, after a loss far exceeding any they had yet experienced since the insurrection had broken out. Upwards of 800 lay on the ground, seventy-five were taken and put to the sword; the number of the wounded was considerable. Among the slain were Saïm Ali pasha, and Mismih pasha. For several days after, Turks were found hiding in the woods and ravines, and put to death. Seven pieces of cannon, several *baïraks*, or standards, a great number of beasts laden with provisions, horses, tents, and money, were the rewards of this victory. The insurrection spread through Thessaly; the spirits of the Greeks were everywhere elevated.

The Hetairist Dikaïos, having collected about 900 men, gave the Turks a check in Megaris, and drove them out of it, and the territory of Eleusis. This is the last we hear of this man, who probably fell in the engagement.*

The harem and the wife of Koorsheed pasha were, as has been already remarked, in Tripolitza. This lady took a considerable share in all the deliberations of the besieged; and nothing was done without her concurrence. The action of the bombs had caused her a good deal of ter-

* Pouqueville, iii. 185.

ror ; and Anastatius, the son of Mavromichális, who was one of the hostages in the town, and witnessed her uneasiness, wrote to his father to continue the bombardment. M. Raybaud, who had of late been sparing of his shells, as they were running short, flung a few that evening.

During the night, several communications passed between the town and the camp ; and at dawn the next morning, (the 26th,) a large tent was pitched, equidistant from the ramparts and the Greek advanced posts. The Turks had demanded a conference, and hostilities had ceased for a time. A crowd of women and children, taking advantage of this cessation of the war, left the town to seek refuge in the Grecian quarters. They were carrying with them such things as they thought calculated to mollify the hearts of their enemies ; but the ruthless Albanians, who kept the gates, stripped them of every thing as they went out. The Greeks, who, as provisions were getting scarce, had resolved to receive no more of these wretched people, fired some shots at them, to drive them back ; the Turks, from the walls, glad to be rid of them, fired to drive them on. Death was before, death and famine behind ; they rushed into the line of the enemy, and were assigned a station in the rear, at the entrance of the road leading to Calavrita. Those who had saved any thing from the rapacity of the Albanians, bought food at an enormous rate ; those who had nothing, fed on the most wretched and disgusting substances, and finally perished of hunger. Numbers of these unhappy creatures had, before the siege, been in the enjoyment of com-

fort and independence, the wives and children of wealthy agás.

The deputies selected by the Turks to treat of the capitulation, were Sheikh Hajib-effendi, a ulema, or doctor of the law, and Mustafa-bey of Patras—two men who had at all times behaved with gentleness and humanity towards the Greeks. These two venerable men left the town at ten o'clock in the morning, mounted on Arabian horses, and followed by black slaves, and a numerous escort. They entered the tent, where, in about an hour, they were joined by the archbishop Germanos, Mavromichális, Colocotronis, Yatráko, Anagnostáras, and Delianópoulos, the primate of Cariténa. M. Raybaud and Anagnostópoulos also entered the tent. The Turkish deputies rose at the entrance of the Greeks, and all, except Colocotronis, saluted each other politely. Coffee was brought in, the pipes were lighted, and for more than half an hour they all smoked in silence, only broken now and then by questions on indifferent subjects. At length, Colocotronis cried, "There has been time enough lost in smoking and saying nothing." The Turks, as if awaking from a reverie, asked what were the conditions that they intended to impose on them. A moment of hesitation followed, but Colocotronis, again becoming the spokesman, replied, "You shall give us forty millions of piastres," (L.1,000,000,) "your arms, and one half of your effects; and you shall be conducted to Calamata, and there embarked for the coast of Africa." This harsh reply filled the deputies with consternation, and they sought to have the terms mitigated; they can-

didly acknowledged that there might be that quantity of money in the town, but that it could not be immediately collected, as the greater part of the inhabitants had probably hid or buried their wealth. At all events, they said they had no power to conclude any thing, as they were only directed to hear the proposals of the Greeks. They promised to return next day with an answer, after having consulted the kiaya-bey. Hostilities were to be suspended in the meanwhile.

It was contrary to the wishes of the kiaya-bey that the Turks had resolved to treat. His tyranny and cruelty had so exasperated the Greeks against him, that he knew well, be the terms of the capitulation what they might, they would not extend to *him*. His only plan and only advice was, to drive the useless mouths out of the town, defend themselves as long as they could, perish in the ruins, or cut their way, sword in hand, to Napoli di Romania. And his was the best plan, as events showed.

Two days passed without the return of the deputies. The Turks were divided into two parties, one desiring to capitulate, the other siding with the kiaya, and anxious to continue the defence of the town. Amidst their altercations, nothing could be decided. In the meantime, Elmas-aga and his principal officers came to the quarters of Colocotronis, where the Greek chiefs assembled to confer with them. Elmas offered, for himself and his soldiers, to abandon the town on the following conditions: *that they should be allowed a free passage, with their arms and property, to Epirus; and that*

they might take with them the harem of Khoor-sheed-pasha.* The Greeks neither accepted nor rejected these terms, they only replied that they would take them into consideration.

Hostilities were renewed on the second day, and in the evening, M. Raybaud threw about thirty bombs into the town. But Elmas-aga sending to say that they incommoded his soldiers, who were in that part of the town, and that he would come next day to conclude the conditions of his leaving the place, M. Raybaud changed the direction of his mortars.

It was at this time that the celebrated Booboolina arrived, with all her family, in the camp before Tripolitza. She was in the Gulf of Napoli, with one of her vessels, watching to prevent any supplies by sea reaching that place, when she heard of the approaching fall of the capital of the Morea. Her cupidity was instantly excited, and, eager to share in the spoil, she deserted her station, and hastened away to the camp,† where this modern Artemisia soon showed herself to be a match in rapacity for Colocotronis, or for any of the Maniotes.

Elmas-aga came again to the camp; the same chiefs, among whom Booboolina now sat, met to confer with him. His proposal of taking

* This was, probably, with a view of excusing their conduct to Khoor-sheed, as having proceeded from a regard to him and his family.

† The *Diario di Roma* stated, that Booboolina appeared with her ships before Tripolitza, while the Greeks entered it by land;—a knowledge of geography nearly equal to that of the old Romans, before whom Plautus could venture to represent Thebes as a seaport town.

with him the harem of Khoorsheed-pasha meeting a most decided refusal, he gave it up; and it was settled, that three days afterwards, (Oct. 4th,) he and his Albanians should leave the town with their arms and baggage; that they should be furnished with means of joining Ali Pasha, on condition that if they could not succeed in getting to him, they should unite themselves with such of their countrymen as were in arms for him; and that, at all events, they should fight no more against the Greeks.

The stay of Elmas-aga lasted for several hours. M. Raybaud, who was present at the conference, was greatly struck with the difference between his appearance, and that of some of the savage-looking chiefs who surrounded him, whose open shaggy breasts gave to view shirts which they had vowed not to take off till Tripolitza was won. Elmas-aga was a handsome man, of polished manners; his dress was rich and elegant, his fingers were laden with diamonds and rich cameos, which powerfully attracted the attention of the Maniotes in the suite of Mavromichális. He conducted himself with the utmost coolness and imperturbability, smiling with the air of one used to command.

During the suspension of hostilities, several of the Turkish soldiers had come out to visit their old neighbours and acquaintances among the Greeks; but whether the richness of their arms excited their cupidity, or their language awaked their anger, or, as is more probable, religious and political hatred had stifled all generous feeling, most of them perished, the victims of their confidence. Undismayed by that

example, some of the guard of Elmas-aga went to refresh themselves and take some repose in the huts of the Greeks, and they also experienced the treachery of their hosts.*

As the intentions of Elmas-aga and his Albanians were now tolerably evident, several of the heads of the principal Turkish and Jewish families in the town thought it time to provide for their security. They came secretly out of the town, and bargained with Colocotronis, Mavromichális, Booboolina, and such others as they deemed to be able to protect them. The prices they agreed to pay to these *soi-disans* patriots, were enormous. From evening till morning, beasts of burden, laden with money and valuable effects, were passing from the gates to the tents of these chiefs. The price at which escape from massacre was set may be learned from the following circumstance:—A wealthy Jew, who was banker to the vizir, and, therefore, allowed to carry arms, fixed on Colocotronis as his protector. He entered his tent with a dagger and pistols in his girdle, richly adorned with gold and precious stones. “A Jew, and armed!” cried the rapacious Greek, “that is incompatible.” He stripped him of his arms, and then began to treat with him; the price for the security of

* There is nothing on earth which converts man into a savage animal so soon as this union of political and religious hatred. He seems all at once to divest himself of all the kindly feelings of his nature; friendship, gratitude, love, are forgotten in the violence of animosity. Every page that I write of this history, brings forcibly to my mind the evils from which the Duke of Wellington has saved his native country.

himself and family was fixed at 400,000 piastres (L.11,000.)

Booboolina, relying on her dress and sex, ventured even to go into the town to make her disgraceful bargains. The vizir's wife, trembling with apprehension, is said to have confided to her her diamonds, and to have given her rich presents, levied on the principal women of the place. Booboolina's relatives were continually engaged in receiving at the gates, and conveying to a place of safety, the treasures which she was collecting. Yatráko, the physician, was quite in despair lest his power of protecting should be rated below those of the other chiefs, and, therefore, not prove so lucrative; and the sight of his tent filled with riches hardly sufficed to console him.

The brave Nikítas, afterwards called the Turcophágos (*Turk-eater*) from his valour, formed a noble contrast to these rapacious chiefs. He viewed with disgust their proceedings, and his sentiments were shared by many others; but the want of a legally organized force, or a supreme controlling power, rendered their opposition of no avail. The soldiers, in general, were enraged at seeing so much of the prey thus snatched from them, and they waited with impatience for the departure of the Albanians, as the signal for assault and plunder. These, however, did not stir yet; and the day fixed for their departure was passed by them in a bloody conflict with the Turks, now aware of their treachery.

CHAPTER XIX.

Storming of Tripolitza—Progress of Hypsilantis—Nava. Engagement—Return of Hypsilantis to Tripolitza—Departure of Mr Gordon—Emina-agá.

"ON Friday, the 5th October," says M. Raybaud, "the sun rose brilliant; the heat was insupportable, the atmosphere heavy and oppressive; the monotonous chant of the cicada alone disturbed the silence of that day, which seemed to be the return of the burning dog-star."

M. Raybaud was in his tent, conversing with an officer who had arrived the day before from France, when he heard a strange noise, followed by some discharges of cannon. One of his men came in breathless haste to tell him that the Greeks were scaling the walls, and meeting no resistance. The Turks had just brought the cannon of the citadel to bear on the part of the town which they had entered; the Greek soldiers were rushing in crowds to the ramparts. The two French officers, followed by their men, hastened to the town, and, making themselves masters of a tower, defended by four pieces of cannon, they turned them on the citadel; but the fire of the Turks soon obliged them to cease. The citadel directed the whole of its fire on the town, which was now filled with Greeks.

The scenes of horror had already commenced, the cries of the victims and their slaughterers

rose in mingled confusion ; the gunners were no longer to be restrained ; in five minutes the French officers were alone, and soon after, they also left the tower to go into the town.

For some time, the Turks had ceased to bury their dead, and the streets were filled with putrefying bodies. These were soon covered with victims of the sword ; blood ran in all directions. The Greeks, thirsting for blood and plunder, rushed like mountain torrents through the streets, massacring all whom they met. Some Turks defended their houses, and sold their lives dear ; many a Greek fell by the shots of his brethren, for the balls were crossing one another on every side. Each step that the French officers took, they saw women, girls, and children, hurled from the windows into the streets by the furious Greeks. Several of these unfortunate creatures clung to the clothes of the strangers, imploring them to save them.

The burning heat of the sun, combined with that of the surrounding conflagration, was utterly intolerable. Houses were tumbling with a loud crash on all sides ; the thunder of the artillery, the incessant firing of musketry, the yells of the victors, the shrieks of their victims, were mingled in horrific and appalling confusion. The horror was augmented by the peculiar nature of the war-cry of the Greek. He approaches his foe with a sort of guttural howl, but when he raises his weapon to strike his victim, it assumes another and a more diabolical character ; it then expresses the thirst of vengeance and of blood, the bitter irony of victory accompanied by a stern, ferocious laugh.

the growl of the *man-tiger* over his prey, which fills the soul with horror and aversion.

Colocotronis and Yatrako came now galloping into the town like men beside themselves. They rode through the streets, endeavouring to force their men to leave the town ; but their efforts were vain, their influence was gone, the blood-hounds had got the scent of their victims, and were not to be checked in their career. These chiefs may have been actuated by humanity, and by a regard to their dearly-paid-for promises of protection ; but it is more in their character to suppose, that it was the prospect of the loss of the sums of money which they had expected to extort from the unfortunate Mussulmans, which stimulated them to attempt the restoration of order. Had they shown themselves disinterested and clean-handed, the sack and massacre of Tripolitza might have been averted by a timely capitulation.

A valiant band of Turks, who had retired under the citadel, resolved to take advantage of the confusion to effect their escape. They dashed sword in hand among the victors : the most of them fell ; about forty cut their way to one of the gates, and arrived safe at Napoli di Romania.

Elmas-agá and his Albanians, to the number of 1200, had shut themselves up in the principal court of the palace of the vizir. Instead of taking advantage of the confusion to fall on the Greeks, when such conduct might have been decisive, they called for the performance of the conditions which had been agreed on. The Greeks *readily* allowed them to quit the place ;

and they retired, and posted themselves in that part of the camp which had been occupied by the troops of Colocotronis.

They had hardly left the palace, when fires, most probably kindled by them, broke out in all parts of it. The ladies of the harem, all richly habited and veiled, were committed by Anagnostáras to the care of a guard of Greeks. They were placed at the bottom of the garden, and a rope stretched before them to keep off the people. All the persons of wealth, who had taken refuge in the palace, hoping to be protected by the Albanians, were placed along with them. Among these was the kiaya, whose life was now spared, but not out of mercy.

The sun was past the meridian, but still the hands of the Greeks were not weary of slaughter. The young, the aged, the beautiful, the brave, were massacred without distinction. If any was made, it was in the case of the Jews, against whom the habitual rancour of the Greeks was augmented by their knowledge of the treatment the body of the patriarch Gregory had received from their brethren in the capital. A Greek might often be seen to check the dagger which he was about to plunge into the bosom of a Turk, and run to satiate his vengeance on a Jew who was come in sight. Not a single Israelite in Tripolitza escaped; the greater part perished by fire.

To add to the horrors of the scene, the droves of wild dogs, which are to be found in every Turkish town, scoured the streets, furious with hunger, and fell on and devoured those who sank beneath the blows of the victors. The

sanctity of the tombs also was violated, from the love of spoil or the rage of vengeance ; and the corpses were dragged forth, and left to infect the air.

The following day, the massacres were renewed. Anagnostopoolos published in vain an order for quarter. The fury of the Greeks was still unappeased, and even in many cases where it was subsiding, it was roused anew by the insults and the despair of the Moslems. They soon, too, began to quarrel among themselves ; those who had been disappointed in their hopes of spoil, collected in bands, and, stationing themselves at the gates, robbed those who were coming out laden. The wealthy plunderers then began to scale the walls, and at last to break passages through them ; in this way those who had gotten valuable horses got them off. If a soldier took a fancy to a house which had been already gutted, he fixed over the door a piece of cloth marked with a black cross, and if he was able to barricade the door well, or the external of the house did not appear very inviting, his right was respected. Some collected their booty into houses which seemed capable of resisting an attack, in order to defend it, but they were soon broken open or burnt.

The attitude of the Albanians appeared so alarming to M. Raybaud when he left the town in the evening, that he did not deem it safe to pass the night in the camp, and he was obliged to return to the town to sleep. Having communicated his suspicions to Mavromichális, that chief sent them orders to depart for their home. They accordingly set forth along the road to

Calavrita, attended by some light Greek troops, to see them out of the Morea.

Few, now, of those of the inhabitants who were in the town on the morning of the 5th remaining alive, the question came to be debated, of what should be done with those whom famine had previously driven without its walls. Nothing had yet been decided, when, on the evening of the 7th, a band of miscreants adopted the resolution of driving them to where, five miles distant, the Alpheus rises among deep ravines, and flinging them into them. M. Raybaud, and a Greek of Scala Nova, hearing what they were about, hastened to endeavour to save some of the victims. The young children, knowing what awaited them, filled the air with their cries; their mothers, rendered callous and indifferent by suffering, dragged them, and even beat them to force them to go on. But the savages had not patience to proceed to the selected place of destruction—at the entrance of the gorge leading to Vitina they fell on and massacred the crowd of starving women and children; and M. Raybaud arrived in time to save only one little girl.

The Turks in the citadel, having neither water nor food, were obliged to surrender on the 8th. They capitulated to Colocotronis, who promised them their lives, and nothing more. He and his relatives, and some friends, entered the fortress, and searched and disarmed the Turks, who were then led to a large house, which had belonged to Mustafa, bey of Patras, and shut up in it along with the other prisoners. Colocotronis kept possession of the citadel till he had

been able to remove and secure the immense quantity of money and other valuables which it contained.

Few more horrible massacres are to be found in history than this of Tripolitza ; but what Christian nation is there which has not its annals stained with similar atrocities ? Even England, pre-eminent as she boasts to be in humanity, has the capture of Drogheda by Cromwell and his saints, to set against it. It only furnishes one more sad instance of the evil produced by tyranny and oppression—of the savage state to which man is degraded by them.

“ O, Turkish nation ! ” cries M. Raybaud, to whom we are indebted for these interesting details, “ conquering and oppressive people, to what a pitch hadst thou carried the abuse of power, to what a degree of debasement hadst thou sunk the vanquished, that on the day of their awaking, they experience such a necessity of cruelty, such a thirst for thy blood ! If it is thus that the long triumphs of despotism are to be expiated, which are the most to be pitied, those who bear the yoke, or the posterity of the tyrants who imposed it ? ”

It is probable that few of the Greeks who left their villages to besiege Tripolitza had not, time after time, experienced the insults and oppression of their Turkish masters and neighbours, and that the present excesses were but the explosion of those thoughts and desires of revenge which had been long smouldering in their bosoms. It is remarkable, that the feelings of contempt and hatred for the vile rayas seem to have been so deeply seated in every Turkish

bosom, that the women and children, when in the hands of the soldiers, excited their rage, by calling them Dogs of Infidels, Impure, (*Jower Skilimontatis*,) and other names which they had always been in the habit of freely bestowing on them, and died beneath their blows, repeating these words with their last breath. The Maniotes and the Ionians offered a contrast to the other Greeks: the former, who had never suffered much from the Turks, were those who most unsparingly shed their blood; the latter, who had never been under the Turkish yoke, evinced the greatest humanity, and succeeded in saving several children from slaughter.

The return of Hyspilotis was now evidently longed for by all parties. The chiefs were weary of the disobedience of their men, and the men complained that they had been defrauded by the chiefs of the just reward of their toils; the Frank officers, several of whom were now in the camp, longed to see an end put to the disorder which prevailed; even the Turkish prisoners were anxious for the appearance of a man possessed of authority, and accustomed to the usages of civilized warfare. Various rumours prevailed in the camp respecting him; some said that he was gone to Romelia, others that he had returned to Russia. At length, fourteen days after the taking of Tripolitza, young Vlasto arrived to say, that the Prince was but a day's journey distant, and would arrive at the camp the following day.

Hyspilotis, on arriving at Calavrita, the second day after his departure from Tripolitza, learned that the Turkish fleet, having sailed to

the coast of Albania, was there joined by the squadron of the capitana-bey, and, having met the Algerine division off Patras, had thrown a reinforcement of 1500 Albanians into that town, and that the Greeks, recovering from their panic, had resumed the blockade. He was farther informed that the entire fleet had entered the gulf of Lepanto; and, fearing that they might make a landing in the Morea, he hastened to the defence of Vostitza. But he was too late; the destruction of that town had been complete, and the fleet was stretching across the bay for Galaxidi. Hypsilantis moved along the coast towards the isthmus, and he had only reached the convent of St Irene, distant three or four hours from Vostitza, when he saw, on the opposite shore, the flames of the houses and shipping of Galaxidi.* He made a delay of a week at Vasilika, the ancient Sicyon, and here he learned the capture of Tripolitza. Pano, the eldest son of Colocotronis, who had hitherto attended him with an irregular corps of 600 men, deeming, for reasons well known to himself, his presence essential to his father, abruptly quitted the Prince, who now had with him only Baleste's 250 men, and some foreign officers. He deliberated whether he should not leave the Morea altogether; he advanced to Corinth, where Constantine Petimeza, one of the bravest and best of the Greek captains, was besieging the citadel; then to the Dervend (*pass*) of the isthmus; thence back to Cenchrea,

* The inhabitants had saved themselves in the interior, after a gallant defence.

and so again to Corinth—feeble in his resolves, and uncertain how to act. Affecting to disbelieve the accounts of the disasters in Valachia, he sent MM. Kutzooski and Voutier to Milo (*Melos*), to try and learn something certain on that subject; and he directed them to take Hydra in their way, and stimulate the ship-owners there to send a fleet to sea as speedily as possible.

The Grecian fleet, which was already prepared, put to sea on the second day after the arrival of the Prince's envoys. On the 11th October it appeared off Cape Vasilico, in the isle of Zante. Regardless of the displeasure of the British authorities, the Zanthiotes ran in crowds down to the shore, and saluted with transports of joy the banners of their religion and of liberty. The following day, some Turkish ships, having in tow a part of the vessels captured at Galaxidi, were met by the Hydraote captain, Sbaïni, off the east coast of Zante: he attacked them at once, and succeeded in driving a Turkish brig on shore, after destroying the greater part of her crew. The enemy had in the meantime attacked, with a vastly superior force, a division of the Greek fleet, which was becalmed off the coast of the Morea. Some parties of Greek troops were drawn up on the shore, spectators of the conflict. Four of the Greek ships engaged and repulsed eighteen of the Ottoman brigs; the combat lasted five hours. One of the four, being afterwards isolated, was attacked and taken by the Algerines; but her crew escaped to the shore.

On the 15th, the Greek fleet was out of sight;

to meet him, and rent the air with
amations. By taking advantage of
al enthusiasm, he might possibly have
in making the chiefs disgorge some
-got gains; but he wanted strength
er, and he let slip the favourable mo-

appearances of regularity now began to
emselves: a mosque, which had been
a church, was converted to its former
bazzars were supplied; the soldiers
returned to their standards. Hypsi-
ned disposed to make Tripolitza the
e general assembly, which was to be
to fix on some plan of government.
wever, gave the preference to Argos
urpose, as being near Napoli and
and more convenient for the island-
osilantis meantime directed his atten-
e organization of the troops. but here



of Baleste's little corps. Those who had deserted from it, and shared in the sack of the town, were covered with rich shawls and pelisses, and displayed magnificent arms, while their companions who had been true to their oaths, were arrayed in miserable rags—a contrast which spoke audibly against discipline and subordination. Hypsilantis, however, persevered: he selected the officers of his staff, at the head of which he placed, to the general satisfaction, Mr Gordon.

But this gentleman, disgusted with what he saw of the base selfishness of the chiefs, the ferocity of the people, and the feebleness of the character of the Prince, had resolved to depart from Greece. The only request which he made, as a return for his services and his gifts, was permission to take with him a respectable old Turk and his little daughter, whom he had taken under his protection. Even this moderate demand, though willingly assented to by the Prince, was opposed by the heartless Colotronis and some others, under pretexts of prudence. At his departure, Mr Gordon confided the old man and his child to the care of M. Raybaud.

The story of this unhappy Mussulman is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. His name was Emina-agá; he was one of the wealthiest Turks of the peninsula; he had a numerous family, a sumptuous dwelling; neither famine nor disease had been known in his house up to the day on which Tripolitza fell. The close of that day saw him reduced to the depths of misery: his habitation was plundered, his

children and relatives massacred, one only child remained to him—his youngest daughter, four years of age, escaped from death almost by miracle. His own life was spared by the humanity of Anagnostaras, who had taken possession of his house ; and he dragged on a miserable existence in the kitchens and stables where he had once commanded. Evermore exposed to the cruel sarcasms and irony of the soldiers, who robbed him successively of every article of his dress, he still submitted with resignation. Allah kerim ! (*God is great !*) alone passed his lips. His house became the residence of Hypsilantis when he arrived at Tripolitza, and the humanity of Mr Gordon was exerted to soothe and protect Emina-agá. The idea of accompanying his benefactor to England, was grateful to him ; when his hopes were crushed, his spirits quite sunk. M. Raybaud, being shortly afterwards to set out for Thessaly, wished to take Emina's daughter, and place her in security at some place in the isles ; but the old man could not endure the idea of separation, and M. Raybaud, unable to take them both with him, placed them in the family of Sheikh Nejib-effendi, their relative, who expected soon to be ransomed.

The unhappy Turks who remained in the hands of the Greeks were subjected to all kinds of indignities, and their fate was such, that that of those who had fallen on the day of the storm was enviable in comparison. Each time that the Greeks heard of any instance of cruelty exercised on their brethren, or of any success gained by the infidels, their rage of vengeance

was kindled anew, and discharged on their unhappy prisoners. The vile race of the Maniotes, the pseudo Eleuthero-Lacones, were conspicuous in cruelty; but those Greeks who had travelled, or been educated in civilized Europe, viewed the atrocities of their countrymen with horror, and saved many a victim from them. Even the poor peasants of the Morea,* oppressed and ill-treated as they had been by the Turks, retained some humanity; and several Turkish females were saved and concealed by them, and let out of the town during the night to seek some safer asylum.

CHAPTER XX.

Adventures of Melidonos the Cretan—His Death—Aferdoolieff sent to Crete—Deputies arrive from Mount Olympus—Proceedings of Mavrocordatos in Western Greece—Sortie of the garrison of Patras—Condition of Ali Pasha—Attack of Arta by the Sooliotes—Affairs at Napoli—Attempt to take that town by escalade—Mehemet Abd-ul-Abood made pasha of Salonica—Reduces Cassandra and Mount Athos.

WHILE the chiefs were still at Tripolitza, Anthony Melidonos† arrived from Crete to in-

* They are called Valacks, i. e. Valachians. As this people had penetrated into northern Greece, where they lead the shepherd's life, going with their flocks to the mountains in summer, and seeking the plains in winter, the name was extended to those who led the same kind of life in the Morea, though not of the Valachian race.

† M. Soutzo, from whom we have taken these de-

form them of the affairs of that island, and to ask them for aid. As Napoli and the citadel of Corinth were still to be conquered, the aid was refused. Melidonos departed in chagrin. Returning home, he put himself at the head of a body of 700 men, and formed the daring project of traversing the island from one end to the other, attacking the Turks wherever he should meet them. He first attacked the Turkish village of Monea ; having conquered it, he advanced and laid siege to the post of Armyros, which he took and dismantled, removing twelve pieces of cannon from it to Sphakia. When he entered the district of Rhethemna, the Turks who dwelt in it all fled before him, and took refuge in a delicious valley near Bryssina, closed in by steep rocks, from which tumbled a waterfall. Melidonos, having seized the only entrance to the valley, fell on and made a great slaughter of those who were in it.

Some days afterwards, he met Glamides, the terror of the Christians of Candia, mounted on a superbly caparisoned white mule, and surrounded by his guards. The Sphakiote rushed on him, dragged him to the ground, and slew him. Learning then that another ferocious Turk, named Getimalis, was, with a few soldiers, at the wealthy convent of Arcadion, he proceeded thither. Arriving at midnight, he ascended the roof, laid inflammable materials on it, and set fire to them ; then rushing to the

tails, says that he had extracted them from various memoirs, with which he was furnished by a brother of Melidonos, and by some of his comrades in arms.

cell where Getimalis was sitting drinking, he burst open the door, seized him, and cast him to the earth, and was about to slay him, when he cried out that he would become a Christian. The ceremony of baptism was immediately performed, and the terrified convert was allowed to live.

Quitting Rhethemna, he entered the district of Amari. At a place called Yanacari, the Mussulmans attacked him, and were defeated; another body of them experienced a similar fate at the village of Merona, and a third had little better success at Thronoclissidi.

The next exploit of the Cretan hero we shall relate in the words of our author. They are so pretty and sentimental, that they almost make us doubt the accuracy of the narrator.

“A crowd of Turkish old men, young maidens, and children, had sought refuge in the delicious valley of Gena. He made his way into it at the close of day; the whispering of the evening breeze, and the song of the cicada, invited to sleep; several young virgins, reared amidst perfumes, and who never had gone out but attended by a troop of slaves, now without veils, without attendants, their feet bare and torn by the thorns, were reposing beneath the shade of orange and almond-trees; several children were sleeping at the feet of the old men, who were also buried in slumber—some arms were hanging from the boughs of the trees. Melidonos, at the sight of these innocents, stops, and says to his brother Elias, ‘Let us retire, and not disturb their repose.’ His voice wakes a young girl, she utters loud cries,

her companions jump up on their feet ; Melidonos soothes their uneasiness, watches over their safety, their honour, and accompanies them to the walls of Megalocastron, giving them the following letter for the agá of that fortress :—

“ ‘ I have acted as a son to your old men, as a father to your children, as a brother to your females ; do you act in the same manner towards your Greek prisoners ? Our revolution has for its object the emancipation of an oppressed people, and not the extinction of the race of the Osmanlis. If you wish to live free and equal with us, renounce your obedience to the Sultan, and I am ready to make peace.’ ”

The only reply made by the Turk was to sally forth at the head of a body of troops, and make an attempt to surround Melidonos at Foorfoora. The Cretan hero, though taken by surprise, drew up his little army and commenced the attack. The action was warm, and lasted upwards of two hours. The Turks at length were broken, and driven in confusion to Megalocastron. The very next day, taking advantage of a storm of hail and thunder, Melidonos fell on a detachment commanded by the same officer. Confounded by the wind and hail, the Turks were unable to act, and they let themselves be massacred without resistance.

Three days afterwards, he posted himself on the road which the pasha was to take. As soon as he saw him entering the plain, he made his men lie on the ground, concealed among the briers, till the Ottomans came up. He then gave the word to rise, and the enemy, taken by surprise, fled without making any resistance.

The pasha, charmed with the valour of Melidonos, sent an old woman to him, to beg that he would stand on the hill opposite to his camp, that he might take a view of him with his telescope. Melidonos wrote in reply, "In a few days thou shalt be a prisoner in my tent, and there have leisure to view me closely."

The fame of Melidonos spread far and wide through Candia: wherever he came, the people crowded to gaze at him, and his entrance into any town was celebrated with all the demonstrations of respect and joy usual in the country. The envy of Rhoossos, the Sphakiote chief, was inflamed, and he resolved to destroy the brave Melidonos. He came, therefore, to him at Foorfoora, with the intelligence that the pasha was to sleep that night at a village named Abadia, two leagues distant. He advised him not to let the occasion slip, but to fall on him during the night. The secret hope of Rhoossos was, that Melidonos would be the victim of his spirit of enterprise; and the latter, unsuspecting of deceit, eagerly caught at the opportunity of distinguishing himself which was presented. He gave Turkish dresses and standards to 300 of his men, and at night entered Abadia. He went straight to the house of an old Turkish woman where the pasha was to sleep. He knocked, and asked in Turkish if the pasha was yet arrived. "Who are you?" said a voice from a window. "Turks from Foorfoora."—"The pasha is not yet come; there are only two bim-bachees (*colonels*) in our village."—"Where are they?"—"In yonder white houses by the old poplars." Melidonos went in search

of them, killed them and 400 of their men, and returned to Foorfoora with thirty load of biscuit and twelve barrels of gunpowder.

Disappointed in his hopes, Rhoossos resolved to assassinate him that very night. He sent to congratulate him on his success, and to invite him to supper. Melidonos, who was quite fatigued, at first excused himself, but at length, overcome by importunity, he went, accompanied by Captain Koormoolakis and a few of his soldiers. They were scarcely seated at table, when Rhoossos began to provoke Melidonos by taxing him with ambition, and with secretly undermining him in the minds of their fellow-citizens, and concluded by avowing the mortal hatred he bore him. Melidonos was retiring in indignation; Rhoossos drew a pistol from his girdle, and levelled it at him; it was wrested from him by Koormoolakis; a crowd of Sphakiotes rushed in; Melidonos addressed them in energetic terms, vindicating the disinterestedness of his conduct, displaying the true character of Rhoossos, and declaring his resolution to retire from the command which he held.* He ordered them to fetch him a horse; he mounted, and set out for Rhethemna, followed by a crowd of Sphakiotes, who swore to live and die with him. As he passed through the town of Opsygia, the people came to implore him to stop, and not to put himself in the hands of the Turks, as they thought he intended to do.

Melidonos was overtaken at Opsygia by

* The turgid speech which M. Soutzo puts into the mouth of Melidonos is almost ludicrous.

Anagnostos, the brother-in-law of Rhoossos, who came to say that the latter repented of what he had done, and ardently desired a reconciliation. He suffered himself to be persuaded, returned with him, and even went alone to visit Rhoossos. But the traitor stood concealed behind his own door, and as his unsuspecting victim entered the house, he clove his head with a sabre. Melidonos fell; his soldiers, coming up, found him weltering in his blood; they would have pursued Rhoossos, who had fled, but the expiring hero forbade them. His brother Kharalamba, and some of his officers, on their arrival, found him dead. At sunset, he was interred at Ministraki. The Greeks immediately afterwards left the neighbourhood, and the Turks of Foorfoora came and disinterred his body in order to gaze on it, and they tore up his shroud, and parted it among them to wear by way of amulet.*

If the chiefs at Tripolitza rejected the application of Melidonos, they afterwards considered better of the matter; and Michael Comnenus Afendoolieff, a companion of Hypsilantis, was sent to Candia with a fleet of twenty sail and 1800 men. But the incapacity of this man was such, that his presence was an impediment rather than a benefit to the cause which he came to support.

* This romantic tale of Melidonos is to be found only in the work of M. Soutzo, on whose veracity its truth rests. I have endeavoured to divest it of some of its romance, and to bring it within the limits of sober history. I must, however, confess, that I entertain some suspicions even of the details which I have retained.

Hypsilantis, after a stay of some weeks in Tripolitza, determined to set out for Argos, to open the general congress there. He appointed M. George Sakeri, a native of Tripolitza, to be the governor of that town; but Colocotronis, whose insolence and selfishness were always conspicuous, asserted, that as he had commanded the largest body of troops during the siege, the right of appointing a governor lay with him, and he insisted on that office being given to one of his sons. It was in vain to reason with him, and the feeble Prince was obliged to yield, and to limit the functions of M. Sakeri to those of civil governor, or rather of a mere judge.

The Turkish prisoners, especially the females, viewed with dismay the departure of the Prince and the Franks, whom they looked upon as their only protection against the brutality of the Greeks. The ladies of Khoorsheed's harem several times expressed their anxiety to see the Prince; but, aware of his own want of power, he constantly refused to visit them, not wishing to witness misfortune which he could not alleviate.*

Some time previously, deputies had arrived from Mount Olympus, asking for a leader, cannon, and some foreign officers, to assist and direct them. They stated the number of fighting men whom they could furnish at 14,000. As these

* M. Raybaud thinks, that if the Prince had visited them, their request would probably have been for the restitution of some of their fine clothes and jewels; the loss of which the Turkish women regarded as one of the greatest afflictions, even amidst the real losses which they had suffered, in being deprived of their fathers, brothers, and husbands.

were known to be the bravest of the Greeks, and as, at the same time, a most important diversion might thus be made, and the communication be cut off between Macedonia and Thessaly, Hypsilantis resolved to comply at once with their desires. But, always unfortunate in his choice of instruments, he fixed on the Khiliarkh (*colonel*) Sala, who had been in the service of Russia, to go to head the warriors of Ossa and Olympus. At the request of the deputies, the small park of artillery which was to be sent, was placed under the direction of M. Raybaud.

The cannon was dismounted, and M. Raybaud was to have carriages constructed in the Cyclades. He therefore applied to Panos Colocotronis, the new governor of Tripolitza, for waggon, horses, and mules, to transport it to the place of embarkation. The draught cattle furnished were fifty of the Turkish prisoners, and an equal number of Valachs (*Moreote peasants*), if those should not prove sufficient; and the governor confidently assured M. Raybaud, that he need be under no apprehension of overworking his *horses*. On the 17th November, M. Raybaud left Tripolitza; these unfortunate Turks, among whom was one Ibrahim-agá, had previously set out, yoked to heavy waggon, and escorted by twelve gunners, whom M. Raybaud had strictly charged to be attentive to them.

The following day, M. Raybaud overtook the convoy, but the Turks had grown restive, and could only be impelled to move by blows, for that day would bring them to Lerna, where they were convinced they should be massacred. They testified an extreme joy at the sight of him; and

on his assurance of protecting them, they moved on readily. It was, however, with difficulty that he was able to defend them from the rage of the sailors of that place, and only by promising to give them up to their vengeance when they should have brought up two pieces of cannon, which had been left on the road. By making them afterwards go on to Argos, he contrived to save the wretched Turks, whose only desire now was, to be taken for slaves by the foreign officers, who, they saw, would treat them with humanity. Several of the officers took some of them; the rest were sent back, with a good escort, to Tripolitza. It is but justice to the Greeks of Lerna to add, that most of these prisoners were Asiatic Turks, who had been the instruments of the *kiaya* in devastating the country and massacring the people.

While Hypsilantis, the dupe of the selfish captains and primates, was daily sinking into insignificance, the more talented and energetic Mavrocordátos was engaged in giving organization and regularity to affairs in Western Greece. He went through all parts of Ætolia, Acarnania, Doris, Phocis, Bœotia, Amphilochia, studying the manners of the people, and the characters of their chiefs; making himself acquainted with their wants, and seeking to impress on the minds of all, the necessity of union and of civil organization, if ever they hoped to succeed in emancipating themselves from Turkish tyranny. He communicated with the Sooliotes; and he endeavoured to strengthen the alliance which subsisted between the Greeks and the *Mohammedan Sheeptars*, who adhered to Ali Pasha. He

engaged Tahir Abas, Alexander Nootzas, and other partisans of the old tyrant, to repair to Mesolonghi, whither deputies from the provinces of Western Greece had arrived, to deliberate on a plan for the organization of that country. But the Albanians were shocked with the tone of equality assumed by the Greeks,—the sort of liberty of which they spoke was new to their ears; they had imagined that it was partisans of Ali whom they were to meet, and they could not conceal the annoyance it gave them. The attentions, and, still more, the presents, of Mavrocordátos, however, soothed them; they agreed to a continuance of the alliance, required ammunition and provisions, and promised to repair to the combined camp at Peta. As soon as they were gone, the Senate of Western Greece was installed at Mesolonghi, under the presidency of Mavrocordátos, who was shortly afterwards deputed to attend the congress of Argos as their representative. Eastern Greece had also been organized, and a senate formed at Sálona, by the exertions of Theodore Negris,* a man of whom we shall in the sequel have frequent occasion to speak. Negris had been made president of the Areopagus, as this senate styled itself; and he

* He had been secretary of the hospodar of Moldavia. The Porte had fixed on him to be the chargé d'affaires at Paris, whither he was proceeding by sea; but he directed his course to Spetzia, and joined the insurgents. The Spetziotes were at first very suspicious of him. By acting as he did, he compromised his family, which remained at Constantinople, and some of its members were, it is said, put to death.

and some of the members were also setting out for Argos.

Mavrocordátos, on his way to Argos, stopped at Patras, where the Greeks had once more blocked up the Turks in the citadel. As the enemy had remained for some weeks quiet, the besiegers became careless and negligent, and the garrison, taking advantage of their want of precaution, ventured to make a sally. A panic terror seized the Greeks, in spite of the efforts of Mavrocordátos and others; they fled, though the assailants were few in number; and the ground, being encumbered with ruins, adverse to cavalry, Mavrocordátos narrowly escaped being made prisoner; all his papers and effects were lost. Among the former was a manuscript history of the Turkish dominion in Europe, which had cost him much time and labour, and of which the loss caused him a considerable degree of regret.

It is now time that we should return to Ali Pasha of Jannina, whose career was fast drawing to its close. About the end of October, the garrison of the castle of Litharitzza, composed of Guegues, being ill paid, and tired with the length of the siege, and at the same time reflecting that they had now served several months beyond the period for which they had engaged, yielded to the money and the promises of Khoor-sheed, and putting the castle into his hands, ranged themselves under his standard. Ali had now but 600 men remaining, and it was to be feared that the fidelity of these might not remain proof against the seductions of Khoorsheed, and the dangers to which they were exposed. They might easily obtain pardon and reward by

putting the old vizir into the hands of his enemy; the diversion made by Ali would then be at an end; Khoorsheed, master of the treasures of the old satrap, and freed from embarrassment, might be able to turn his entire strength against the Greeks. It was, therefore, evidently the interest of these last to succour Ali Pasha.

The combined forces of the Greeks and Albanians were, at this time, blockading Arta. It was resolved, in a council of war, that the Acarnanian troops alone should remain before that town, and the Albanians and Sooliotes, without a moment's delay, proceed to Jannina, and endeavour to throw a reinforcement into the Castle of the Lake, before Khoorsheed had completed the lines of circumvallation with which he was shutting it in on the land side. Information of what was proposed was sent to Ali. But, what with dislike of the Greeks—whose instrument he found himself to be, instead of their being his—what with his avarice, which increased every day, he declined the proffered aid. He showed the letter to his captains, saying, that he relied so entirely on their valour, that he had no need of any other aid; and when some of them begged him to admit 200 or 300 palicares, "No," said he, "old serpents are always old serpents. I fear the Sooliotes and their friendship." To the Sooliotes he wrote, thanking them for their regard for him; but assuring them that he required no aid, as he could still hold out for years. He requested them to press vigorously the siege of Arta, and, if possible, to take Ismaël Pashôbey, the cause of all the troubles, alive, which, *he said*, would be cutting the evil at the root.

He concluded, as usual, by assuring them that his treasures should be the reward of their brave palicares.

The Sooliotes, though dissatisfied with Ali, resolved to follow his advice, and direct their efforts against Arta. But that town was defended by 5000 horsemen, and a good park of artillery; and it became a matter of serious deliberation, whether they should adventure to attack such a force. The council were of opinion to put off the enterprise till they should have gotten cannon. Mark Botzaris alone was of a different way of thinking, and he resolved to make a bold attempt to carry the town. Having made Karaïskaki,* the chief of the Acarnanians, enter into his views, and prevailed on his companions in arms to promise to come to his aid, he set out, with 200 palicares, from Koomkhadez, on the 24th November. Arrived at the village of Marat, within view of Arta, on the right bank of the Inachus, by the road leading to that city, he posted his men among the trees and shrubs of various kinds, which are there in great abundance. The Turks, either aware of, or suspecting, his project, crossed the bridge of the Inachus to the number of 800 horsemen, preceded by four field-pieces. A smart action commenced: the Sooliotes were at length forced to take refuge in the houses of the village; the enemy began cannonading them; their destruction seemed almost certain, when Nothis Botzaris appeared on the road, at the head of 300 men. He

* So this name is generally written. M. Pouqueville writes it Kara Hyscos. I have not met it anywhere in Greek characters.

fell on the Turks ; at the same time, Mark Botzaris and his men rushed out of the houses. The Turks were driven back and pursued to the bridge, and one of their field-pieces was taken. As the bridge was strongly fortified, no attempt was made to force it. The victorious warriors slept that night on the field of battle. The noise of the cannon had called numbers to their aid. The bridge was attacked next morning, and carried ; and the victors established themselves in the suburb called Mihoorti. The following day, Hassan vizir, Ismaël Pashô-bey, and the other Turkish officers, endeavoured to dislodge the Sooliotes from their position ; but Mark Botzaris, by manœuvring along the side of the hills of the Virgin, prevented their making any use of their cavalry, and obliged them to give over their attempt. The Turks then took up a position opposite to that of the Sooliotes ; and as these last had placed in their front the artillery taken at the bridge, both parties wasted their powder to little advantage by a constant but ill-directed cannonade.

A general engagement was every moment expected ; and the Christians joyfully received an accession of 2000 Albanians under Tahir Abas, Hago Bessiaris, and Elmas-agá, (lately come from the Morea), who, regarding them as the allies of Ali Pasha, came to aid them against the troops of the Sultan. On the 28th, a general attack was made, and the assailants made themselves masters of two-thirds of the town. To prevent his soldiers scattering themselves to plunder, Mark Botzaris set fire to the houses. This measure saved the Turks, for the conflagration

raging with great fury, the enemy could not get near them ; and they had time to fortify themselves in different parts of the town. The Greeks and their allies, unused to sieges, were obliged to be content with blockading them.

Khoorsheed, who had now been joined by Omer Briones from Athens, resolved to make every attempt for the relief of Arta. It was arranged, that three divisions, each of 2000 men, should march thither by three different roads, in order to distract the attention of the enemy. It was, at the same time, resolved to endeavour to induce the Khamides of Thesprotia to declare themselves for the cause of the Sultan.

The beys of the Khamides were at that time sitting in consultation at Paramythia, deliberating on what was their best course to pursue. The sheikhs, sent as envoys to them by the ser-asker, on being admitted into their assembly, pictured to them, in strong terms, the folly of adhering to the cause of the ungrateful tyrant, Ali Pasha, and then the madness of making common cause with the Greeks, who were the sworn foes of all the Faithful alike ; and who, if victorious, would never rest till they had exterminated them all. These, and other considerations, had their full weight. The Khamides swore not only to obey the ser-asker, but to engage their brethren to renounce their alliance with the infidels. They sent accordingly a dervish to Tahir Abas and Hago Bessiaris, and these chiefs promised to desert their allies at the most critical moment, insisting, however, on the deposition of Ismaël Pashô, their personal enemy.

To deceive the Sooliotes, the Albanian chiefs informed them of the approach of the troops of Khoorsheed, and proposed that they should lead their Sheeptars, and place them in ambush at the mouth of the defiles. This proposal was extremely agreeable to Mark Botzaris, as some ill feeling had begun to manifest itself between the Albanians and the Acarnanians. The former accordingly departed, and soon after the Sooliotes succeeded in making themselves masters of the quarter occupied by the vizir Hassan. Next morning, (December 7th,) at daybreak, the troops of Khoorsheed were seen on the right bank of the river. They soon were masters of the bridge; and it was vain to hope to resist them with success. Mark Botzaris, however, determined to keep them occupied with the 1100 men whom he had with him, till Karaïskaki should have had time to get the sick and wounded over the river, in boats, at a convenient place. As soon as he was sure that the Acarnanians were safe over, and that the wounded were out of danger, he nailed up the cannon, which he was forced to leave; then retiring some distance from the bridge, ordered his men to force into the river a drove of buffaloes, which he had collected for that purpose, and then follow them. The buffaloes rushed into the stream; partly swimming, partly holding by the beasts, the Sooliotes crossed the river, and landed near the village of Marat. Still driving before them the buffaloes, made furious by their wounds and the noise of the fire-arms, they rushed, sword in hand, on the Turks, and forced their way through them. "*Let every one*

shift for himself, and to Loroox !" shouted Mark Botzaris, and the Sooliotes instantly dispersed.

The Turks entered Arta, now nearly a heap of ruins. To gratify the Albanians, Ismaël Pashô was deposed, and cast into prison.* They still, however, kept aloof; and though they had abandoned the Greeks, they cherished hopes of saving their old master, to whom alone they were attached.

Soon after the arrival of Hypsilantis at Argos, there arrived (November 20) at that place about thirty foreign officers, who had landed at Calamáta. They were French, Italians, and Germans; among them was the Sicilian colonel, Staroba; M. de Qualen, a Danish cavalry officer; MM. Graillard, Chauvassaigne, &c. &c.

The Greeks had long had a corps of observation, commanded by the captain Georges, brother of Nikitas, before Napoli di Romania, and a small squadron cruising off it, to prevent its receiving any supplies by sea. This town is built between the sea and a steep rock, on which is the fortress called Palamídi; on another rock, about 200 paces out in the sea, is a castle, named Boorghí, which commands every part of the town. The whole was strongly fortified, and defended by nearly 400 pieces of cannon, eighty of which were of the calibre of sixty-four pounds and upwards. It is one of the strongest places in the Ottoman empire; and the only hopes of the Greeks to reduce it lay in famine, which was already beginning to be felt by the garrison,

* He was some time afterwards put to death, by order of the Sultan.

now greatly discouraged by the news of the fall of Tripolitza.

But while they were thus anticipating a speedy possession of this important place, their hopes were cruelly disappointed by the thirst after gain of a foreign house at Constantinople, which sent thither a Maltese vessel, laden with corn. She had succeeded in getting into it, either through the negligence of the blockading squadron, or, as others say, because the captains of it had abandoned their post, as they were not furnished with money to pay their sailors. She had been already twenty days lying safe under the cannon of the town, when the Greek army came to Argos. Some days afterwards it was resolved to cut her out, as if it was likely that she should have been lying there a whole month without having discharged her cargo. Some boats, with some of the foreign officers, and about fifty Greek sailors in them, left the Mills in the night, and rowed in silence towards her; the Spetziote captain of the boat which was ahead, seeing the fire of the pipe of a sailor, thought it was a gunner's match. He instantly put his boat about with so much noise, that the others were obliged to follow his example, and in spite of the threats and entreaties of the foreign officers, he made off as fast as he could. Next day the Maltese put to sea, but was immediately taken by the Greek cruizers. The captain was brought before Hypsilantis, and examined. As the continental powers had not yet acknowledged the Greek blockades, *the Greeks, though justly incensed at seeing their hopes frustrated by the avarice of an in-*

dividual, contented themselves with detaining him; and shortly afterwards, on his being claimed by the captain of an English frigate as a British subject, they set him at liberty.

Frequent, though not very sanguinary affairs, took place before Napoli. On the 26th November, the thunders of the batteries of Palamidi were heard at Argos. The Turks, it appears, being in want of forage, had, the night before, sent out a number of women and children, under the protection of about 100 Delhis, to cut grass in a place about half a cannon-shot from the walls. Just before daybreak the Greeks perceived them,—stole down, and fell on them with loud shouts,—the foragers, cut off from the town, ran into the sea, where some of them were drowned, and others shot. The besiegers sent succour to their foragers, and thundered away from their batteries, though it was impossible for them to hit the Greeks, without at the same time endangering the lives of their own people; the combat lasted till two o'clock in the day, when both parties retired; the Greeks carried off thirty heads; the Turks brought home almost all the women and children whom they had exposed in so cowardly a manner.

A Genoese, named Dania, who had been twenty-five years in the service of France, in which he had attained the rank of a superior officer, and Justin de Rouën, a French captain, proposed to Hypsilantis the daring project of taking Napoli by escalade. The foreigners in general, and all the men of sense, were of opinion that, with such troops as the Greeks, the thing was utterly impracticable; but Dania

succeeded in persuading the Prince that the difficulty was by no means insuperable. Orders were sent to Hydra and Spetzia to make ladders, and to get ready forty boats with guns in them, to co-operate in the attack, which was fixed for the 16th December.

At two in the morning of the 16th, the Greeks left their camp, and got under the walls of the town, without being perceived by the garrison. The ladders were set, and the troops were waiting for the signal, when one of the soldiers of Colocotronis having, no one knew why, fired off his piece, the Turks took alarm, and hastening to all the points which were menaced, poured a tremendous fire on the assailants, which was, however, rendered innocuous by the darkness of the night. As the enterprise had failed, the Greek troops should have retired at once; but the companies of Baleste, the greater part of the foreign officers, and some gunners, having received no orders, remained at their post till daybreak; they had then to retire along a causeway, which was swept by a battery of seven or eight guns, and the musketry from the ramparts; but, though the Turks kept up a tremendous fire, thanks to their awkwardness, very few were killed.

During the month of November, the Greeks were unfortunate on the northern shores of the *Ægean*. The selictar of the capitan-pasha landed in the isle of Samothrace, and slaughtered the principal inhabitants, carrying away the women and children for slaves. Mehemet Abd-ul-Abood was nominated to the pashalik of Salo-

nica ; and he immediately commenced operations against the Cassandriotes.

Mehemet Abd-ul-Abood was a Georgian by birth. In his eighteenth year he was brought to Constantinople, and sold as a slave. Having renounced the faith in which he was born, he was some time afterwards in the service of Jezzar, the sanguinary pasha of Acre. He here greatly distinguished himself by his courage ; and when on one occasion the old tyrant, suspecting him and some others of an intimacy with the females of his harem, menaced them with death, Mehemet and one Suleiman took shelter in the powder-magazine, which was in the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, if they were not allowed to go free. Jezzar could not resist such an argument as this, and he allowed them to depart. After rambling about for some months, they returned to his service. Jezzar, dying, was succeeded by Suleiman ; and Abd-ul-Abood was made Moosselim, or governor, of Jaffa, where his cruelty equalled, or exceeded, that of his old master. Driven from his government, on account of his extortions, he sought refuge with Mehemet Ali, the viceroy of Egypt ; and being furnished with letters of recommendation from that viceroy to Nejib-effendi, his Capi-choadar (*agent*) at Constantinople, he, through his support and his own exertions, so gained the favour of the Porte, that he was nominated pasha of three tails of Saloniea, into which town he made his entrance on the 20th October.

The new pasha lost no time in entering on hostilities. On the 14th November he appeared

before the intrenchment of the Greeks, and invited them to lay down their arms, promising them pardon and amnesty. Aware of the significance of these words in the mouth of a Turk, the Greeks refused to listen to his proposals. At midnight, on the 12th, Abd-ul-Abood drew up his forces, and made a furious attack on the Greek line of defence. Having succeeded in filling part of the trench with fascines, his cavalry poured into the peninsula; the Greeks, unable to offer any farther resistance, fled; great numbers of them were slain on the following days, some bravely defending their lives, others offering no resistance. The vizir had given orders to his troops to spare the unarmed; but strict obedience was not, in this instance, yielded to his commands. He treated with great lenity the prisoners who were brought to him, paid their ransom himself to his soldiers, and set them at liberty. Such unusual clemency had a great effect on the Greeks; several of those who had made their escape out of the peninsula, returned; and Abd-ul-Abood, having collected the people of various villages of Macedonia, settled them once more in their native homes.

After the reduction of Cassandra, the vizir hesitated whether he should direct his force against the insurgents of Olympus, or the monks of Mount Athos, who had taken arms, and begun to prepare for their defence. The fear of the monks securing their treasures in the islands, if they should be given time, determined him, and he directed his march for their peninsula. Having approached the isthmus, he sent *to demand their arms, hostages, and a large sum*

of money. He moreover insisted on having a garrison there, under pretext of protecting them.

The cowardly monks, though they were 5000 in number, dwelling in strong fortified monasteries, well supplied with artillery, and abundantly stocked with provisions, submitted to these unreasonable demands. The contribution was fixed at 3000 purses, or 1,500,000 piastres. The hostages were delivered, and Abd-ul-Abood occupied the peninsula with his forces. Not content with the enormous sum which he had received, he stripped the churches of their plate. Finding there a number of the country clergy who had sought refuge with the monks, he pretended that they were not included in the capitulation, and he seized and hanged them. He thus, in a short space of time, completely put down the insurrection in Macedonia.*

* Pouqueville.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.



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Rob. Greig del.

W. Dery Sculp.

ATHENS.

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1830.



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By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY, Esq.
AUTHOR OF "FAIRY MYTHOLOGY," "OUTLINES OF HISTORY"

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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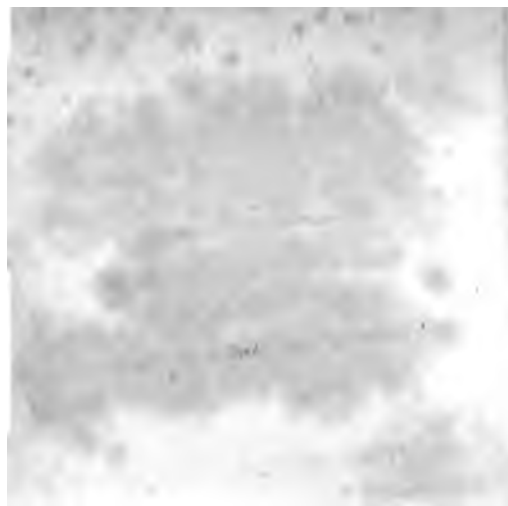
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WHEN the deputies from the various parts of Greece had assembled at Argos, they were proceeding to their task of arranging a constitution and government for the nascent state. Linking, however, the vicinity of a besieged town unfavourable to their deliberations, they moved to Piadi, near the ancient Epidaurus, a solitary village on the southern side of the gulf of Athens. Here, in the open air, beneath a serene sky, and amidst a grove of orange-

trees, with Salamis full in view, the deputies held their sittings; for the town of *Æsculapius* did not afford a house to contain them, and the delightful climate of this part of the Peloponnesus is mild and blooming, even in the midst of winter.

A commission, of which *Mavrocordátos* was the president, was directed to draw up the plan of a national constitution: and, on the 1st January, 1822 (O.S.), it was made public.

The government was divided into two branches: the legislative, composed of the deputies of the provinces; and the executive, consisting of five members.

The legislative, or senate of thirty-three deputies, mostly selected from the members of the congress, chose *Hypsilantis* and *Sotiri Kharalampi* for their president and vice-president. The members of the executive body were, *A. Mayrocordatos*, president; *Athanasius Canacaris* of *Patras*, vice-president; *John Orlandos* of *Hydra*, *Anagnostáras Papayanopoolos* of *Caritena*, and *John Logothetis* of *Livadia*. These bodies being formed, the national congress addressed a manifesto to the people, giving an account of its labours, and then declared itself dissolved. The executive power entered forthwith on its functions, and appointed the following ministers: for foreign affairs and the presidency of the council, *Theodore Negris* of *Constantinople*; for the interior, *John Coletti* of *Syraco* in *Epirus*; for war, *Noti Botzaris* of *Sooli*; for the marine, a commission of three members, one from each of the isles of *Hydra*, *Spetzia*, and *Ipsara*; for the finances, *Panozzo Notarías* of

Corinth; for public worship, Joseph, Bishop of Androosa; for justice, Vlasios of Argos; for the police, Lambros Nacos of Salona.*

New emblems and new colours were adopted in place of those of the Hetairia and of the Hypsilantis: white and sky-blue became the national colours; the flags of the Greek ships displayed thirteen blue and twelve white stripes placed horizontally; the standards of their troops, a white cross on an azure field. Athens was, when conquered, to be the capital of Greece; till that time, Corinth, whose citadel had just surrendered, was to have that honour.

By the new constitution it was declared, 1, That all religions should be tolerated, and the free practice of their ceremonies permitted. 2, That all Greeks, without distinction of rank, should be equal in the sight of the law. 3, That all Greeks were eligible to all employments in the state, the preference being to be decided by merit alone. 4, That the property, the honour, and the security of every person, were placed under the safeguard of the law.

The good effects of the promulgation of the provisional constitution soon became apparent: the turbulent and greedy primates of the Morea were gratified by receiving posts which might prove lucrative; the people, rejoiced at seeing a regular authority instituted, paid their contributions cheerfully; the soldiers were gratified by the prospect of care being taken in future to keep them regularly supplied with provisions. All orders of men felt disposed

* Raybaud.

4 HYPsilANTIS GOES TO CORINTH.

to join heartily in the great work which was before them.*

When the congress commenced its sittings at Epidaurus, Hypsilantis, aware of the turn which matters were likely to take respecting himself, directed his thoughts entirely to the war; and, leaving that place, proceeded, with the regiment of Baleste, to Corinth. He laid aside the title of Lieutenant of the Commissioner-general, which he had hitherto used in signing his acts, and that of Archistategos, bestowed on him by the senate of Hydra and confirmed by that of Calamata, contenting himself with the simple and well-merited one of patriot. He was accompanied to Corinth by Kiamil, the bey of that town, who had been among the prisoners taken at Tripolitzá, and whose life had been spared with the hopes of making him instrumental to the surrender of the almost impregnable Acro-Corinth.

The Acropolis of Corinth, a place of strength since before the dawn of history, stands at an elevation of 1800 feet above the level of the sea, from which it is not more than a mile distant. Its side, which faces the town at its foot, is nearly perpendicular; the opposite side is not so steep, but it is only on the west that it can be ascended with any convenience. Its surface, which is an irregular oval, is, in its longest diameter, about 600 paces; and, were it not for the cold consequent on its elevation, might, it is thought,† grow corn sufficient for the support of the garrison. The fountain of Pyrene

* Soutzo.

† Raybaud, ii. 194.

still continues to pour forth abundance of delicious water, which descends to supply the town. The view from the Acro-Corinth extends over a large portion of the Peloponnesus, the continent, the seas and the islands, embracing the scenes of some of the most glorious deeds of Hellas.

The unfortunate Kiamil-bey was led beneath those ramparts, which had, for more than a century, obeyed himself and his ancestors, and, by force of the most terrific menaces, obliged to desire his family and his soldiers to surrender that formidable fortress to the enemies of their faith. This his last mandate was obeyed; and a capitulation, similar to those of Malvasia and Navarino, was concluded. Baleste and his men were admitted first into the fortress, and they conducted themselves with order and humanity; but soon the irregulars, who had been investing the citadel, and others, led by a son of Colocotronis, got in, and then the murders began. The kiaya, it was recollected, had, on his way to Tripolitzá, left a part of his Albanians in the citadel of Corinth; and, as their brethren, under Elmasbey, had not adhered to their oath of not bearing arms against the Greeks, their guilt was now visited on the Albanians in Corinth, and they were all massacred. "Thus," it has been well observed,* "in this war of extermination, they punished the violation of sworn faith by another violation of it."

Hypsilantis, disgusted with this faithless conduct, and with the cruelties which were com-

* Raybaud, ii. 179.

mitted, and at the same time anxious to get away before the government came to establish itself at Corinth, set out for Thessaly. Baleste, by the direction of the government, prepared to depart for Crete; from which island two deputies were arrived, to complain of Afendolieff, and to request that Baleste, who was known and esteemed by the inhabitants, might be sent to direct their military operations against the Turks, whom they had succeeded in shutting up in the fortified towns. Baleste was accompanied to Crete by some of his officers, and the command of his battalion was given to the Piedmontese colonel Tarella.

While the Greeks were engaged in organizing their government, and preparing for the ensuing campaign, the old satrap of Epirus was become the victim of the artifices of Khoorsheed. After the last affair of Arta, the Toshki agás had resolved on maintaining a neutrality between the contending parties; the Sooliotes had been disgusted by the letter of Ali, which stopped them as they were hastening to his assistance, and he had now only the garrison of the Castle of the Lake to depend on. Khoorsheed was, notwithstanding, anxious to get the Toshkis to declare for the cause of the Sultan; and he strenuously assured them that, go things as they might, the life of Ali, to whom he knew their attachment, should be preserved. He even showed them firmans of the Porte, declaring that, if he submitted, himself and harem, his servants and his treasures, should be transported to Asia Minor, where he might spend the rest of his days in peace. Letters of Ali's

sons were also shown to the agás, attesting the good treatment which they had received. The agás, either believing these documents, or glad of the pretext which they afforded of following their inclinations without liability to the charge of ingratitude, agreed to join in forcing the rebel to do what was for his good; and an advance of six months' pay engaged them heartily in the cause of the Sultan.

The avarice of Ali, in withholding the pay of his garrison, had disgusted them. He deemed them so compromised, that they could not venture to rely on any amnesty, and thought he might save his darling money. But as soon as it was known that the Toshkis were in the camp of Khoorsheed, the Sheeptars of Ali began to desert; and every night some of them crossed the fosse, and entered the camp of the ser-asker, where they met a most favourable reception. Still, while the Neapolitan, Caretto, remained to direct his artillery, the old satrap did not despair. But Caretto, though he had been indebted for his life, some years before, to the pasha, and though he had hitherto served him with the utmost fidelity, either wearied out with the tyranny of his master, or convinced that it would not be possible to save him, resolved to shift for himself, and to abandon him like the rest.

Ali, who had suspected his design, had set Athanasius Vaya to watch over him. Deceiving the vigilance of his guard, Caretto let himself down from the top of the rampart by a cord attached to a cannon. In the fall he broke one of his arms; and, on reaching the camp of

Khoorsheed, as he either could not or would not give any information of importance with respect to Ali, he was treated with contempt and neglect.

Shortly after the desertion of Caretto, the remainder of the garrison, wearied out by fatigue and sickness, threw open the gates of the fortress to the besiegers. But, fearing an ambush, they hesitated to enter, and Ali had time to escape to what he called his *refuge*—*Kara-phýsion*. This was a strong tower, well supplied with cannon, in the part of his palace appropriated to the women. Underneath it was a vast natural cavern filled with barrels of gunpowder, his treasures, and provisions; and in it was the apartment in which he slept. He therefore suffered the imperial troops quietly to take possession of the remainder of the fortress; and, when they came near enough to hear him, he desired that Khoorsheed should send some one of distinction to confer with him.

Khoorsheed immediately sent to him Tahir Abas and Hago Bessiaris. Ali said nothing to them of their conduct towards him; he contented himself with merely saying, that it was some of the ser-asker's principal officers that he wanted. Khoorsheed then dispatched his Kafetanjee, or master of the wardrobe, his keeper of the seals, and some other of his chief officers. Ali received them politely, asked them to go down with him into the cavern, showed them its contents, and Selim, one of his Seids, standing ready, on a signal, to fire the magazine. Drawing a pistol from his girdle, he pointed it towards the depôt; the *envoys* cried out with terror; the vizir smiled,

said, that he was only going to lay aside his arms, as he was fatigued with their weight. He begged them to sit beside him, and he then informed them, that he aspired to a more miserable kind of death than that which was intended for him; and that Khoorsheed, his officers, and his army, should share his fate, as the entire of the fortress was undermined, and a dark laid to the magazine which they beheld would blow the whole into the air. He added, that he would abandon his resolution if he obtained a pardon signed by the hand of the Sultan, and would go to Asia Minor or anywhere else. Then presenting his watch to the kafetan, he told him, that if the castle was not evacuated within an hour, he would fire the magazine. Khoorsheed, on the return of his envoys, issued instant orders for the evacuation of the castle; and the troops, on learning the cause, departed with precipitation. The ser-asker, aware of the determined character of the man with whom he had to deal, and fearing the effects of desperation, assembled his principal officers, and proposed to them to sign a declaration, in which they engaged to exert all their influence to obtain the pardon of the rebel. This act, signed by upwards of sixty officers, was transmitted to Ali on the 10th January, and it inspired him with hopes of becoming again what he once had been.

Disquieting dreams, the tears of his adored Diliki, and mental uneasiness, had greatly weakened Ali, and he now clung to life, ready to grasp at any straw. On the 27th, the kafetan begged of him to say, that Khoorsheed had had a

semi-official notice from a member of the divan, to say, that *his Highness, changing his wrath to clemency*, had granted the pardon of Ali Tebelin, who was to repair to Constantinople to cast himself at the feet of his justly offended sovereign; that the amnesty would include as many of his friends as he desired, and that he would be free to pass over to Asia Minor. The kafetanjee said, at the same time, that it would be expedient for Ali and Khoorsheed to have a personal interview; and as, for obvious reasons, it could not take place in the castle, the island on the lake would be the most appropriate place for it, in the kiosk which Ali had built there in the days of his prosperity, and which had been lately new furnished.

Ali was a little startled at this proposal, and he preserved a profound silence. The envoy hastened to assure him, that the reason for it was only to convince the army that all ill-understanding between him and the ser-asker was at an end; that Khoorsheed would take to the place of conference only the members of his divan, and that, as it was natural for a man in Ali's situation to be suspicious, he might previously send to examine the place, and then take with him as many of his guards as he pleased, leaving things on their present footing in the castle, where Selim's match would be a sufficient pledge for the good faith of the ser-asker.

Ali consented; and, attended by twenty of his guards, passed over to the island. He had Vasiliki brought thither also with a good deal of his valuables. Two days passed away without Khoorsheed appearing; on his sending

to know the cause, the ser-asker made an excuse, at the same time offering to permit any persons whom he desired to visit him. Ali named Tahir Abas, and other chiefs, who were at once allowed to go to the island. Engaged in forming intrigues, and planning how his friends might carry him off on the road to Constantinople, Ali marked not how time passed, and he who had spent his whole life in deceiving others, stood on the brink of the precipice without perceiving his danger.

On the morning of the 5th February, Khoorshood sent Hassan-pasha to felicitate Ali on the arrival of the firman. All that now remained, he was instructed to say, was for him, out of regard for the dignity of the monarch, to order Selim to extinguish his match, and to let the imperial Bairac (*standard*) be planted on the Castle of the Lake. Ali was appalled; he stammered out that Selim was charged to attend to nothing but his verbal order, and that he must go in person to the castle to have what they desired executed. A warm debate ensued; every possible protestation was made; the sanctity of the Koran was employed to convince him that no treachery was meant. At length, half forced, half deceived, the wily old satrap yielded. Drawing a token from his bosom, "Show this to Selim," said he, "and that dragon will become a gentle lamb." The talisman was presented; Selim prostrated himself, put out his match, and was instantly poniarded; the standard of the Sultan floated on the castle of the lake, and the shouts of the soldiery told Ali Pasha that his last fortress was lost.

It was noon : Ali, surrounded by his guards, and prepared for the worst, sat in the kiosk, anxiously viewing the camp, the castle, and the lake ; his pulse beat quick, but his countenance was calm ; he frequently drank coffee and iced water, looked at his watch, yawned, passed his fingers through his beard, and gave other signs of his inward uneasiness. At five o'clock, some boats were seen putting off from the shore and making for the island ; they approached, and from them landed Hassan-pasha, Omer Briones, Mehemet the selictar of Khoorsheed, the kafetanjee, and several of the principal officers, followed by a numerous train. Ali rose, laid his hand on his pistols ; " Stop !" cried he, " what do you bring me ?"—"The will of his highness," replied Hassan : " do you know these august characters ?" showing him the gilded front of the firman. " Yes, and respect them."—" Well, then, submit to destiny ; make your ablutions ; pray to God ; your head is required by"—"My head is not so easily delivered !" cried he in a rage. Quick as lightning, with one pistol he wounds Hassan in the thigh, and kills the kafetanjee with the other ; his guards rush in and cut down several of the Choadars. The Osmanlis quit the kiosk ; from without they fire and kill four of his guards ; Ali himself is wounded in the breast. They get below, and fire up through the floor ; one ball hits him in the side, another in the spine ; he falls on the sofa. " Run," cries he to one of his men, " run, kill poor Vasiliki ; let her not be dishonoured by these villains." The door is burst in ; Ali's men jump out of the windows ; the selictar

enters, followed by executioners ; Ali was still alive. "Let the justice of God be accomplished," said a cadi. The executioners seize him, drag him out, and, with repeated blows of a blunt sword, cut off his head on one of the steps.

The head of Ali was brought on a large red dish to Khoorsheed; he rose to receive it; bowed three times before it, kissed the beard, and wished that he himself might merit such a death. The body was given to the Albanians, who buried it with all the demonstrations of respect in use among them ; the head was sent to the capital, and exposed before the Bab Hoomayoom (*Imperial gate*.) Vasiliki* was treated with every attention by Khoorsheed, and sent to Constantinople, where she was placed under the care of the patriarch. A pelisse and rich dagger were sent to Khoorsheed, with orders to proceed in the good work of exterminating the infidels ; lavish praises and blessings were the reward of the army. Mookhtar, Veli, his two sons, and Salik, were murdered in their places of exile. Veli, after beholding the death of his sons and his brother, yielded his neck to

* Vasiliki was a young Greek girl, who, not knowing Ali, fled to him for protection from the soldiers who, by his order, were destroying her native village of Plikhivitz, and massacring its inhabitants. The heart of the tyrant was melted ; he saved her, and her mother and brothers, and placing Vasiliki in his harem, became devotedly attached to her. He never sought to make her change her religion, and always treated her with confidence and kindness. The influence which she possessed over his mind was never employed by Vasiliki but for good. His affection for his family was the only redeeming trait in the character of the tyrant.

14 PREPARATIONS OF KHOORSHEED

the executioners. Mookhtar, like a true Albanian, shot the capijee-bashee who came to him, and, after a brave defence, fired the gunpowder in his palace, and expired without disgrace. Such was the end of the tyrant of Epirus and his family.

In obedience to the imperial commands, Khoorsheed issued a most haughty address to the Christians, calling upon them to return to their former state of degradation, and began to prepare for acting in concert with the fleet of the capitan-pasha, who had again made sail for Patrás. A large army was assembling in Thessaly, and Khoorsheed was to join it.

The navarch, Tombasis, had meantime been on a voyage of inspection in the Archipelago. Sailing from Hydra, in the beginning of January, he had reconnoitred the mouth of the Dardanelles, and thence proceeded to Ipsara; he then directed his course to Samos, where the active preparations of the people for their defence excited his admiration. According to his instructions, the admiral collected all the Cretans who were desirous to return to assist in the liberation of their native island. He arranged the tribute that each of the Cyclades should pay to the national revenue, and then returned to Hydra, to prepare for the approaching campaign.

Towards the beginning of February, the Turkish fleet, commanded by the capitan-bey and Ismaël Gibraltar, the Egyptian admiral, put to sea, and directed its course towards Hydra—private information having been sent that the people of that island were divided in their sentiments,

a strong party being for submission to the Sultan.* The appointed signals, however, not having been answered, the vice admiral, suspecting that he had been deceived, did not venture to attempt a landing. He pursued his course for Patrás according to his original intention. In doubling Cape Matapan, his vanguard was attacked by the Greeks, and some of his transports driven on shore. Arrived at Navarino, it was resolved to make an attempt to recover that fortress: a body of 700 or 800 men were put on shore, and the fleet approached the passage between the isle of Sphacteria and the mainland, leading into the port. The Greek garrison was commanded by Anagnostára; Count Normann, a general of cavalry in the Würtemberg service, and about thirty other officers, had lately arrived there, and the batteries had been placed under their direction.

The Turks were allowed to land without opposition, and to advance within 200 paces of the ramparts. It was hoped that the vessels might go off and leave them, but the foreigners, growing impatient, directed a heavy and severe fire on them. The Turks, filled with terror, fled to the shore; the Christians pursued, and killed a small number of them; the rest got on board and escaped.

The Turkish fleet proceeded to Zante, where it continued some days; it then made sail for

* According to Pouqueville (iii. 409), some of the principal capitalists of Hydra were thinking of retiring, with their properties, to foreign countries, and this was a stratagem of a modern Themistocles, whose name he does not think it as yet expedient to give, to prevent them.

16 NAVAL SUCCESSES OF THE GREEKS.

Patrás, and landed some reinforcements principally composed of Egyptians. As most of these last had the plague, the Lalaotes positively refused to admit them within the walls of the fortress, and they remained encamped outside, till sickness and famine had destroyed them.

On the 3d March, the Greek fleet, commanded by Andrew Miowlis Vocos, who, according to the rotation established, had succeeded Tombasis as navarch, and having on board the venerable Anthemius, patriarch of Alexandria, appeared in view. After a slight engagement, the Turks fled, and sought refuge under the cannon of Lepanto : in the Little Dardanelles, on the 8th, a smart action took place near cape Araxes, in which the Greeks succeeded in burning some of the Turkish transports, and in separating some of the Barbary ships from the rest of the fleet, which they would have destroyed but for the tremendous gale which came on in the night of the 9th. The Turkish fleet made the best of its way back to the Hellespont, having only succeeded in landing a body of troops at Patrás, where they were destined to perish by disease and the sword of the enemy. The Greek fleet separated, sending divisions to cruize in different parts ; and on the 13th March (O.S.) the government issued a declaration of the blockade of all the ports occupied by the enemy, from Epidamnus round to Thessalonika, including those of the Sporades, the isles of the *Ægean*, and Crete.

There had been, as we have seen above, a *fair chance* of making a powerful diversion in *favour* of the Greek cause in the north of *Thes-*

saly, by sending reinforcements of officers, artillery, and ammunition, to the brave people of Olympus and its vicinity. M. Raybaud had prepared every thing necessary for the artillery in the islands ; but the procrastination of Sala, the inefficient commander appointed by Hypsilantis, had been such, that the Turks had had time to crush the insurrection. The Greeks of that country had burnt their habitations, and sought a refuge for themselves and their cattle in the mountains ; and nothing but a prospect of powerful support would now suffice to rekindle their courage, and induce them to descend again into the plains.

It was therefore evidently useless to attempt, with the small means which were at their disposal, any thing now in Thessaly. M. Raybaud was so convinced of this, that he returned to the Morea ; but Sala, becoming active at the time when activity was only injurious, set sail, with a single brig, from Myconos for Thessaly. The Turks allowed him to land without opposition, intending, if he advanced into the country, to get between him and the sea, and cut him off from his vessel. Not a Greek appeared to join him, till the evening of the following day, when 200 men ventured to come down from the mountains to him. Sala, instead of getting on board and retiring, when it was so evident that he could effect nothing, disembarked his cannon, though he had only one officer, M. Lezonski, to direct it.

Early the next morning, the Turks, seeing that the brig was not going away, made an attack on the Greeks. The event was not for a

moment dubious : the Greeks were overwhelmed by numbers, and most of them perished. Some escaped on board the ship, others, among whom were Sala and M. Lezonski, got to the mountains. All the cannon fell into the hands of the enemy. Sala, after enduring extreme hardships, in making his way through the mountains to Bœotia, arrived, thirty-five days after his defeat, at Corinth, with only four of his companions; having abandoned the rest whenever they were overcome by hunger or fatigue. M. Lezonski, who had been lost or deserted, at about six or eight hours' distance from Karpenitza, a village south of the Sperchius, was found by some shepherds, and brought by them to that village; and some time afterwards, he joined the Greek army when it entered Epirus.

The Acropolis of Athens had been now for some months besieged by the Greeks. The Athenians had, shortly after the breaking out of the insurrection, retired, with their families, and the greater part of their effects, to the island of Salamis, leaving the Turks masters of the town. The latter, though of a milder character than the Turks in general, pillaged the houses, and ravaged the surrounding country. Every day they drove in before them flocks and herds, old men, women, and children. But their ravages were speedily checked; for, as the little isle of Salamis did not suffice to support such a number of people, the men of the island, and their guests, passed over to the continent, where, joining the peasants of Megara and Leusina (*Eleusis*), they carried on a petty warfare against the Turks of Athens. The extensive plain, planted with olives, which

extends on the left bank of the Cephissus, offered them a convenient place for laying ambushes; and they caused the Turks almost daily losses. These last, as their number was small, no longer ventured to leave the town; and being unable to guard the great extent of the walls, they adopted the precaution of retiring every evening into the Acropolis, leaving a few soldiers at the principal gates. A handful of Greeks, taking advantage of the darkness, scaled the wall, and slaughtered the guards of one of the gates; two or three of them, however, escaped, and gave notice to the rest; and the Turks shut themselves up in the citadel. As they had little provisions, it was expected that they would soon be obliged to surrender. The town was occupied by the Greeks; but after a few weeks, they were obliged to evacuate it a second time, on the approach of Omer Briones. This chief, who was with 1500 men near Negropont, hastened to Athens, on learning the state of things there. After staying twelve days in the town, burning and plundering the houses of the Greeks, and having victualled the citadel, he set out for Epirus, taking with him some of the most able-bodied of the Athenian Turks; and he reached the camp of Khoorsheed without meeting any obstacle.

On the departure of Omer Briones, the Turks resumed their old plan of setting guards on the walls, and retiring every night into the citadel. After waiting a few weeks, the Greeks silently scaled the walls in the night, and spread themselves over the town, intending to wait for the coming forth of the Turks in the morning, and to

endeavour, by taking advantage of their surprise, to rush into the citadel along with them. But unluckily, Athens, like all the Eastern towns, was full of dogs ; and these animals kept up such a barking and howling through the night, that the Turks grew suspicious of danger, and, instead of coming down, as usual, in the morning, sent two old female slaves to examine the place. These not returning, they shut themselves up once more. The Greeks took possession of the town ; and the greater part of them brought back their families from Salamis, and began to follow their usual occupations.

The Greeks never ceased to concert plans for making themselves masters of the citadel, to which there is now, as in the ancient times, but one entrance, at the Propylæa. A few feet from it were a small mosque and coffeehouse, in which the Turks kept a guard of fifty men to protect a well, which was about fifty paces from the citadel. One night, the Greeks approached this place in silence, and fell on the guard, most of whom were asleep. They massacred some of them, others got into the citadel, and had time to shut the gate before the Greeks could get to it ; but the greater part took refuge in the space between the citadel and the ruins of the theatre of Bacchus, whence their companions drew them up, one by one, in an apparatus composed of mattresses, which protected them from the fire of the Greeks, who were at the same time kept off by the fire from the walls.

The Greeks attempted in vain to burn the *gates* of the Acropolis ; but as the Turks had neglected to fill the two fine cisterns which it con-

tains, and were now cut off from the well, for the Greeks kept possession of the mosque, they suffered all the miseries of thirst, rendered doubly excruciating by the view of the numerous limpid fountains of the town.

Such was the state of things at Athens, when M. Raybaud, who has furnished the details which we have just given, arrived there in December 1821. The Greeks expected that this officer would be able to devise some mode of reducing the Turks to surrender ; but when he viewed the height and strength of the place, he saw that no means which the Greeks possessed would enable them to make any further progress than they had already done ; and that casting bombs would only serve to injure such monuments of antiquity as were still remaining. He therefore contented himself, much to their dissatisfaction, with recommending patience and a strict blockade.

The Greeks, at their station in the mosque, were so close to the Turks, that conversations, almost entirely composed of abuse and insult, were continually kept up between them. One expression of the Turks struck M. Raybaud as somewhat remarkable. On hearing the Greeks calling themselves Hellenes, they said, " What is it you mean ? Are not we Hellenes as well as you ? Are not we, like you, descended from the Greeks of the old times ? " On this occasion, they proposed a suspension of hostilities. The Greeks, though all the advantage of it would have been theirs, replied only by abuse and sarcasm. The Turks then cast bombs and blocks of *marble on the roof* of the mosque, to beat it

22 DEATH OF ELIAS MAVROMICHALIS.

in, but the Greeks had propped it so firmly inside, that it resisted all their attempts. After keeping up a vigorous cannonade till evening, the Turks concluded the day, as they usually did, by loud singing, accompanied by the sound of haut-boys and drums, on the walls of the Acropolis.

The fate of Elias, the son of Peter Mavromichális, is not to be passed over in silence. This gallant youth had, a few days previous to the time of which we write, passed through Athens, with 700 Maniotes, to aid the people of Negropont in the blockade of Carystos; for there, as elsewhere, the Greeks had risen against their masters. Elias had distinguished himself in various affairs, and caused considerable loss to the besieged, when one day they collected all their strength, sallied forth and drove the Greeks before them. Elias, and a young man of respectable family in the isle of Tinos, tried in vain to rally them. Disdaining to share in their flight, they threw themselves, followed by some of their soldiers, into a mill, resolved to perish rather than yield or fly. The Turks, after vain efforts to take the mill, offered them their lives; the offer was rejected, and when their ammunition was all spent, and they knew that hunger must give them into the hands of their enemies, the brave youths resolved rather to die by the hands of each other than capitulate. They all turned against one another their weapons, tinged with the blood of the infidels; and the Turks, on entering the mill, found nothing but lifeless bodies to wreak their vengeance on.

We now return to Corinth, where, in the month of April, arrived General Normora and

those foreigners who had landed with him at Navarino. The number of the foreigners at Corinth now amounted to 150 persons.

During the time that the congress was sitting at Corinth, Khoorsheed pasha had entered into negotiations for the ransom of his harem and his *kiaya*. He had prevailed on Sir Thomas Maitland to interest himself in the affair; and the agent whom he employed was a Zanthiote physician named Panáyotis Stéfanos. The sum demanded by the Greeks was 80,000 dollars (L.16,500), and the liberation of part of the family of Mark Botzaris, and several Greek primates, who were prisoners in the hands of the Turks. In the latter end of April, two English brigs entered the gulf of Lépanto, and cast anchor before Corinth; on board of one of them was Panáyotis Stéfanos, with a part of the ransom. An express was immediately sent off to Tripolitzá, directing that the prisoners should be brought to Corinth without delay; and, on the third day, the fair captives arrived, not too well pleased at being again put into the hands of their old lord, whose wrath many of them had but too much reason to apprehend.*

About ten days after the departure of the vizir's harem, an English frigate arrived with the remainder of the ransom, to receive the *kiaya*, and to ask some explanations on the subject of the declaration of blockade which had lately been issued. The captain and his officers waited on the president, who received them

* It is said that Khoorsheed, after Turkish fashion, drowned several of them after they came to Jannina.

with his usual urbanity; and, on their asking permission to view the citadel, it was readily granted; but to signify their sense of the conduct of which they considered him guilty towards them and their cause, the government would not permit the English consul at Patrás, who was on board the frigate, even so much as to land. The kiaya and five or six other Turks were put on board the frigate, and the Peloponnesus was delivered of the presence of this ferocious monster.

At this time Mark Botzaris came to Corinth, to ascertain if the liberation of his family had been stipulated. The renown of his name made him an object of curiosity. The Sooliote hero was clad in a simple vest of blue cloth, over which he wore his white goat's-hair cloke, and a rudely wrought pistol was stuck in his belt. The first who waited on him was Theodore Colocotronis, richly dressed and armed, from the fruits of his selfish cupidity. The contrast was striking, and Colocotronis seemed aware of it, and retired in some confusion. Next day he came in his Klephtic dress, rough, soldierly, and dirty. Botzaris rose, gave him his hand; "Now," says he, "you are dressed like a brave man." He enquired into the exploits of the Moreotes; and he showed not merely the cruelty, but the impolicy, of the massacres committed by them at Tripolitza and elsewhere; for if, as he said, the inhabitants of these towns had been sent safe into Patrás, Coron, and Modon, these places would have been soon obliged to surrender, and *the Greeks* would have escaped the reproach of

cruelty and breach of faith, to which they had exposed themselves.

The simple Sooliote knew little the character of the man whom he was addressing. In A. Mavrocordátos he found an auditor of a different stamp. When he announced to him his intention of making every exertion for the aid of Sooli, Botzaris said to him, " You bear the title of prince, keep it; it is necessary for us; prepare an army of 10,000 men and deeds of independence for some Albanian beys. Do not put yourself at the head of the expedition—that you may not attract envy, follow me at a distance; I will open the road of Epirus to you, and make half Albania tributary to Greece."*

It was arranged, that as soon as possible, one army should enter Epirus to give employment to the forces of Koorsheed, and another proceed to Thermopylæ, to prevent the army collected in Thessaly from penetrating into Livadia.

* Our authority for these details is the effect-loving Soutzo, who says he had them from Christos Andros, who accompanied Mark Botzaris to Corinth.

CHAPTER II.

State of Chios—Insurrection breaks out there—Massacre of the Inhabitants—Attack on the Acropolis of Athens—Engagements in Thessaly—Deputies murdered by Odysseus—Attack on the Turkish fleet at Chios—Burning of two Turkish Men-of-War—Renewed Massacres in Chios—Landing of the Egyptians in Crete—Death of Baleste.

WHILE the government at Corinth was engaged in making preparations to face the storm which was about to burst on them from Epirus and Thessaly, the unfortunate isle of Chios had been desolated by the barbarous hordes of the Osmanlis, and a massacre made of its inhabitants, such as few other periods of the war have witnessed.

The people of Chios, being under the protection of the ladies of the imperial harem, enjoyed advantages unknown to their countrymen in general. Commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, flourished in it. Its population, of 120,000 souls, was almost exclusively Christian: 30,000 dwelt in the capital of the isle; the remainder were divided among seventy villages, twenty-one of which were devoted to the culture of the mastic.* A Moosselim (*sub-pasha*), appointed

* Raybaud, (ii. 210,) Pouqueville (iii. 437, *et seq.*) gives 90,000 as the number of the inhabitants, of which, 6000 were Mohammedans, sixty-eight the number of the villages, twenty-two that of the mastic villages.

by the Sultan, was the governor of the isle, who, if his conduct was displeasing to the inhabitants, was immediately removed. Each year the people chose for themselves four Gerontes, or senators, one of whom was always a member of the Latin church, as a portion of the inhabitants were of that communion. These magistrates were unpaid; they acted as judges and as administrators of the public affairs, and it was very rarely that the moosselim reversed any of their acts. The Gerontes also apportioned and raised the annual tribute to be paid to the capitan-pasha, and all ordinary and extraordinary demands of the government.

Thus mildly governed, and consequently prosperous and happy, the Chiotes had formed various public institutions. They had an academy which counted 600 pupils, a library containing upwards of 6000 volumes, a printing-office, hospitals, and a lazaretto. Chios had become the Athens of modern Greece; and its inhabitants were naturally little disposed to run the risk of drawing upon themselves the fury of the Ottomans, which they felt themselves so little able to resist.

Accordingly, when, in the preceding year, the Hydraotes and Ipsariotes so injudiciously sought to extend the flame of the insurrection to this happy island, the Chiote senators entreated them to depart, and adopted the resolution of reserving themselves for a more favourable occasion. The Gerontes, and the Archbishop Plato, to calm the apprehensions of the Turks, obeyed with readiness the command to come as hostages into the citadel.

The Porte, however, grown suspicious, sent a pasha to Chios with 4000 or 5000 soldiers, to reinforce the garrison, put the fort in a state of defence, and disarm the people. Ten more hostages were demanded by the Turks under the pretext of allowing the first four to go to see their families. All, however, were retained, twenty more were then added, and then forty; so that the number at last amounted to seventy-four of the heads of the principal families in the island. Every species of oppression and excess was exercised on the people, under pretext of their taking an interest in the cause of the insurgents; and three or four murders a-day were committed by the ferocious soldiery.

On the 11th March (O.S.), a body of 500 Samians and 150 Chiotes, having with them two field-pieces, effected a landing in the bay of St Helena, a league and a half south of the town of Chios. The Samians were commanded by Lycurgus Logothetis, a native of Samos, who had spent the greater part of his life at Smyrna. He had been probably a member of the Hetairia, was a bold and enterprising man, and, as soon as the insurrection broke out, had returned to his native island, where he contrived to make himself a kind of dictator. The Chiote exiles were headed by Antonaki Boornia, who had been in the French service, but had lived for some time in his native village of Vrondado, in Chios. During the siege of Tripolitzá, he had proposed to Hypsilantis to raise that isle; but his means had appeared so inadequate to what he proposed to perform, that the prince gave no heed to him. *He then withdrew to Samos, where the Chian emi-*

grants made him their chief, and persuading the Samians of the facility of the enterprise, engaged them to join in expelling the Turks from Chios.

Immediately on landing, they advanced with loud cries against the Turks, who, after a feeble resistance, ran and shut themselves up in the citadel. Next day they proceeded to the establishment of a provisional government, composed of six magistrates called Ephori. These magistrates immediately set about devising measures for pushing the siege on vigorously ; and, aware of their want of means, they dispatched two deputies to the government of Corinth, to ask for counsel and aid. Their requests were granted ; two mortars, six battering-pieces, and some foreign officers to direct their artillery, were placed at their disposal. Unfortunately thirteen days were consumed in making preparations ; and time, that could never be recovered, was thus needlessly wasted.

Meantime the Chiotes had gotten ammunition and several pieces of artillery from the neighbouring isles ; and batteries were erected, which began to play upon the citadel. But dissension broke out among them : the peasantry had crowded about Boornia, attracted probably by the tricolor cockade of the French republic, which he displayed on his hat ; and, relying on his influence, he refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Logothetis—he would be master, he said, in his own country, and have his will obeyed. On the other hand, the Samian chief treated the Chiotes like a conquered people, and demanded from them an enormous sum to defray the expenses of the expedition. Many

30 CHIOS ATTACKED BY THE TURKS.

of the inhabitants, filled with alarm, prepared to quit the island, apprehensive of the consequences of the want of harmony and subordination.

It was not till the beginning of April that the Chian deputies, and the succours which they were bringing, reached Ipsara—contrary winds having caused them to occupy eight days in the passage from Corinth; and during their absence, matters had taken a fatal turn in Chios.

The Porte, on receiving intelligence of the insurrection in Chios, had directed the capitan-pasha to pass the Dardanelles without delay. At noon, on the 30th March (O. S.), his fleet, consisting of seven sail of the line, and twenty-six frigates or corvettes, appeared off the port of Chios. He commenced a fire on the town and the camp of the Greeks; and the very first discharges threw them into confusion. The garrison of the castle made, at the same time, a sally, and forced the besiegers to abandon the town, and to retire to the village of St George, four leagues distant, whither they were followed by a part of the people.

The Turks, not considering themselves sufficiently strong as yet to perform what they meditated, resolved to lull their intended victims into security, while the capitan-pasha was collecting in the bay of Chesmé the hordes of ferocious and fanatic Asiatics, who were to be their butchers. The agents whom they selected to deceive the Greeks, were the consuls of the Christian powers; and these men—either deceived themselves,* as we would willingly be-

* It should be recollected that the Chiotes had always

lieve, though such ignorance of the Turkish character is surprising, or accomplices in the treachery, as the Greeks loudly accused them of being—agreed to be bearers of proposals to the Greeks, and the vouchers for the good faith of the Turks. The French consul, who was an old man, having retired to Smyrna when the insurrection broke out in Chios, the person who remained to represent him, accompanied Yoodootzi, the English agent, and the Austrian consul, in the mission to the insurgents, to offer them pardon in the name of the Sultan, if they would lay down their arms ; and they used every argument to induce the people to accept this amnesty. A number of the villagers yielded to their promises, and submitted. They were immediately crowded into the convent of St Minas, and the very next day they were taken out, 200 at a time, and butchered.

The three days, which were occupied in these transactions, had given time for the Asiatics to assemble on the coast ; and every moment, shoals of small boats poured forth bands of savages on the shores of Chios. Their first act was to burn the town and the churches, to destroy all the public monuments, and to massacre the dumb, the blind, the aged, and the incurable in the hospitals. They then began to extend their devastations over the country.

The Greeks, to the number of 1500, having posted themselves at Vrondado, a detachment

been particularly favoured by the Porte, and the consuls might easily have been led to think that the Sultan would treat them with lenity, particularly as the mastic villages *were his own private property.*

of 3000 Asiatics marched against them, but were repelled, and driven under the cannon of the castle. Having been strongly reinforced, they returned with fury to the charge, and forced the insurgents to retire with the loss of 160 men. The Greeks, however, retreated in good order, defending themselves against the enemy with great courage; and one of their women, it was observed, killed three Turks with her own hand, before she fell herself, near the church of St Corinthus. They halted for some time at the foot of Mount Epos, and the greater part of them escaped to Ipsara.

The position of the Greeks at Thymiana was attacked with the same results. At a little distance farther, was a small battery on the coast; against it the enemy sent a detachment, which was to be sustained by firing from a frigate; but this vessel happening to get grounded on the shallows, the Greeks waded through the water to her, carried off her ammunition, and burnt her.

The Samians and the Chian emigrants had taken up a position at some distance from the town, and thousands of the unhappy people had collected behind them, awaiting the result of the conflict. It was of short duration; the Greeks gave way and fled, some one way, some another. Soldiers and peasants, women and children, old and young, fly in different directions, pursued by the ferocious Moslems; thousands are massacred by the ruthless savages, who spare neither age nor sex; mothers, to save themselves and to preserve their children from a more cruel fate, fling them from cliffs and precipices. The island is traversed in all directions;

the houses are burnt ; the inhabitants massacred. During fifteen days, the carnage continued without intermission. More than one half of the population was slaughtered, or reduced to slavery. Thousands concealed themselves in the mountains, and in secret retreats, till vessels from Ipsara and the other isles came to take them off, and disperse them over the Archipelago.

A large body of Turks proceeded against the wealthy convent of Neamoni, where a crowd of females and children had sought refuge. They burst open the monastery, slaughtered the monks, made the unfortunate women the victims of their lust, and, collecting all the sacred utensils and treasures of the place, divided them and the women and children into lots, to take away with them. The thought then struck them, that if they were to sell the females whom they had dishonoured, their own offspring might come to be slaves. Their fanatic pride was wounded at the idea ; and drawing their poniards, they slaughtered those whom they had just before pressed in their embraces.* It required more than fifteen mules to carry away all the precious effects found in the monastery of Neamoni.

The nuns of the convents of Khalandra and Calimassia, and several families who had not had time to save themselves, sought refuge in a tower three stories high. The Turks, when they came to it, broke open the doors, sacrificed the women to their lust, seized the priests who were there—put out their eyes, and then burned them alive. Fortunately they forgot the third

* Pouqueville, iii. 474.

story, and those who were in it were happy enough to escape.

A young couple, named Miké and Jeronima Phacaro, were overtaken by their pursuers as they fled. The husband was hit by a ball, and fell; his wife fainted away at his side. The ruffians, regardless of her beauty, cut off four of her fingers to ascertain if she was alive. As no blood came, they left her, after giving her several cuts with their yatagans. Recovering from her swoon, Jeronima called her husband, and found, to her great joy, that he was only wounded. They got up, and moved along slowly to the sea-shore, hoping to get on board of some vessel; but here they met new enemies; and the husband was killed, and the wife dragged away for a slave.*

When a party landed from the Greek fleet, and penetrated into the interior to witness the devastation which had been committed, and to try to save such victims as they might meet, they heard loud cries issuing from a ravine, near a ruined village. On hastening thither, they found a young man engaged with three Turks; behind him was a young girl, whose cries had drawn them to the place, and two priests, also seeking to defend her. At the sight of the Greeks, the Turks fled; one of them was killed, and the other two forced to abandon their horses. The elder of the priests said, that since the landing of the Turks, he and his colleague had concealed themselves in that cavern; the

* She was afterwards cured of her wounds and ransomed, and restored to her family, after having passed through several hands.

latter used to leave it every night, and go into the fields to search for fruits and vegetables for their support. In one of these nocturnal excursions, he met this young couple, who, after having been hunted the whole afternoon by the infidels, had escaped them by the favour of the night. Their families had been massacred or reduced to slavery; the young man had received several wounds in defending his mistress; and he had seen his sister carried away before his eyes, without being able to give her any aid. The Greeks took the young couple to Ipsara; the old priest, who was more than seventy years of age, refused to quit his cave, saying, that he left to the care of heaven the short space of life that remained to him, and which was not worth taking that trouble to save.*

When the Turks had spread devastation over the whole island, they returned to the town, dragging along with them their captives. The primates of the villages were forced to march before them, carrying the standards; several of the prisoners were massacred; the rest were sold for low prices. The archbishop and the hostages were brought out of the castle, and hung in eight parallel lines on the beach. Two of them, Fona and Meni, died uttering imprecations and prophecies against their murderers. The Turks, in derision, wrapped a turban round the head of the dead archbishop, and exposed him in that state to their prisoners.

The consular agents of the Christian powers covered themselves with disgrace, by selling

* Jourdain.

their protection to such unfortunate victims as sought shelter in their houses. Two of the primates, who were sheltered in the consular houses of France and Austria, had to pay 100,000 piastres; the poor, who could pay nothing, were driven out of them. It is, however, to be observed, that the greater part of these agents were what is called Levantine Arabs, a race almost as depraved as either Greeks or Turks.*

The once beautiful and fertile isle of Chios was now one scene of desolation, no part, except its southern district, having been spared. Near 20,000 of its inhabitants had been massacred; 30,000 dragged away into slavery; and the greater part of the remainder scattered in poverty and destitution over the isles and the Morea.

During the month of April, the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ had been the scene of another conflict between the Greeks and the barbarians. Hypsilantis left Corinth in the beginning of March, accompanied by Nikitas and 1200 Peloponnesians, and marched to Athens. On his arrival, the Greeks resolved to attempt to carry the Acropolis by storm. "On the day appointed for the attack, the Archbishop of Athens officiated in the midst of the camp, and the soldiers, prostrate before a rude altar of stones, swore on the Gospels to face death boldly. Having crowned themselves with branches of laurel, blessed by the prelate, they retired into the houses to celebrate, according to custom, their

* The greater part of the preceding details are from Raybaud.

funeral feast. At midnight, arrayed in their finest garments, the pistol and sword in their hands, they approached the Acropolis. All of a sudden the citadel became illuminated, as if by magic; a shower of tiles, torches, and balls fell on the assailants, who, after some vain attempts, retired, covered with wounds. An Austrian had discovered their design to the enemy.* Hypsilantis, after offering an honourable capitulation to the besieged, which was refused, set out for Distomo, where he met Odysseus.

According to the following dispatch of Odysseus to the senate, it would appear that there had been some severe fighting before the arrival of Hypsilantis at the Greek camp.

The army collected at Larissa, under Mohammed Dramali, had established its headquarters at Thaumakos, occupied Patrajik, and reinforced the garrison of Zeitooni. The ser-asker had then pushed on towards the Hellada (*Sperchius*), and encamped at Allamana.† “Till then,” said Odysseus, “we had kept ourselves on the defensive; but being informed that the Turks were concentrating their forces at Zeitooni and Patrajik, which are the keys of Thessaly, we

* Soutzo, 187. This attack on the citadel is also mentioned by Raybaud, but, of course, in simpler terms. As the present pretends not to be a critical history, I make no scruple to follow this writer in the details, when I know the main circumstances to be true. It would, however, appear from Raybaud, that Hypsilantis was not present on this occasion.

† The discrepancy between the report of Odysseus to the senate, as given by Pouqueville (iii. 398), and that of Soutzo, derived, as he says, from a MS. *Apology of D. Hypsilantis, written by himself*, is not easy to reconcile.

resolved to dislodge them from these positions. The Peloponnesian troops, which were under the orders of Nikitas and Yatráco, amounted to 3000 men, and our whole army numbered about 8000, of which we formed two divisions. The first, which was put under the command of Nikitas, Odysseus, and Dyovoönitis, was to be directed against Zeitooni; while the second, under Demetrius Contoyanis and Hervé Gooras, advanced on the side of Patrajik, after having agreed on the manner and the time of the attack, which were arranged in a council of war.

“ On Good Friday, 31st March (O.S.), the first division was embarked at Palæochóri, a village opposite Lithada, in the isle of Eubœa, in seven vessels, which convoyed a crowd of mystics, or barks. We failed not to address our prayers to God for the success of our arms; and on Holy Saturday, April 1st, at break of day, we began to effect our landing in the port of Echinos, near Stelida. We were effecting it in good order; but we had scarcely put 300 men ashore, when the Turks came against us with a force four times our number, and principally composed of cavalry. Our soldiers then retired towards the sea, where, being reinforced by 500 of our men, they again advanced. The Turks were soon beaten, with the loss of thirty men, and six prisoners, and obliged instantly to evacuate Stelida, where they left sixty Sheeptars, who maintained their post, and suffered themselves to be burnt alive in three houses in which they had intrenched themselves.

“ Meantime Odysseus, who had embarked with seventy resolute palicares, was landing at the vil-

lage of Santa Marina, situated close to the sea, three leagues from Zeitooni, and taking up a position, after having routed 200 Turks, of whom he killed a third; and the night having come on, preparation was made for the engagement, which was expected to take place next day.

“ It was Easter-day. The Turks, to the number of 3000 horse, foot, and artillery, advanced against Santa Marina, where Odysseus was posted, who had received during the night a reinforcement of 130 men. He was vigorously attacked, but the efforts of the enemy were unavailing, owing to the strong position of the village of Santa Marina, though the affair lasted till evening.

“ Odysseus having sent to inform Nikitas of what had occurred, this chief ventured to join him; and setting out with 1000 men, he forced his way through the barbarians, while Dyovoonitis, who had embarked his men, was proceeding to the same point, where they all arrived safely.

“ Next day, Easter Monday, the Turks, thinking that the troops which remained at Stelida had dispersed, marched with the entire of their forces against Odysseus, dragging with them cannons and mortars to dislodge the Greeks from their positions. They discharged at the first more than a hundred cannon balls, and threw an equal number of shells, when, having come close to the Christians, who replied to them only by patriotic songs, Odysseus and Nikitas judged that it was time to make an end with it. Laying down their guns, and inviting their soldiers to take, like them, their swords in their

hands, they flung themselves on the infidels, whom they beat, and pursued a league of way.

“ The loss of the Turks on this and the preceding days, amounted to 500 killed ; that of the Greeks, to thirty killed and fifty-eight wounded. From that time both parties remained quiet.

“ In the meanwhile, the division of Contoyanis had made itself master of Patrajik ; and the Turks, being forced to repass the Hellada, posted themselves at Liano Cladi, a village situated in the plain, where they hoped to be able to maintain themselves by means of their cavalry.”

From this report, whatever its claims to credibility may be, it is clear that Nikitas and the Peloponnesians were engaged near Thermopylæ in the beginning of April (O.S.), but it does not appear that Hypsilantis was among them—a circumstance which might seem to lend some support to the statement of his having been with a part of the Peloponnesians at Athens.

At the time when Hypsilantis joined the army, the Turks, having been strongly reinforced, had obliged it to fall back. The Greeks, though inferior in number, resolved to attack them, to prevent their penetrating into Bœotia. The forces of the Greeks are stated at 5000 ; those of the Turks, at 15,000 men. The Greeks divided their forces, in order to attack the enemy on several points at once. Contoyanis was ordered to take them on the right, by gaining the heights of Mount Catavothra (*Æta*.) Hypsilantis was to take his position in the centre, to support Odysseus and Nikitas ; while Hervé Gooras was to act on the rear of the Ottoman

army. It was about the middle of May when this engagement took place, and Mohammed Dramali was repulsed with considerable loss. His nephew was among the prisoners. *

It was some time after this repulse of the Turks, that the government, at the instigation of Theodore Nigris, and, perhaps, of Hypsilantis, resolved to deprive Odysseus of his command, in which they thought he bore himself too independently. It was, however, a difficult task to assail him in the midst of his devoted palicars, who recognised scarcely any authority but his. The commission, however, was given to Alexander Nootzas, who, after the death of his patron, Ali Pasha, had cordially embraced the cause of his countrymen ; and to Palascas, a man who had served with reputation in the Russian army.

According to the account furnished to M. Raybaud,† by a Frenchman attached to Hypsilantis, and who was near the spot, the two envoys, attended by a small escort, arrived, without any obstacle, at the camp of Odysseus. They began by paying him some embarrassed compliments, and making excuses for the disagreeable office with which they were charged. Odysseus showed no displeasure ; and his conduct lulled them into perfect security. He kept them to supper ; and, as the hour was late, engaged them to put off speaking of the object of their mission till the following day.

* This is Soutzo's account.

† Raybaud, li. 204. This Frenchman, M. N—— of Metz, had been for several years D. Hypsilantis' mathematical teacher, in the house of his father at Kluvaro.

When supper was served, they partook of it without any suspicion, for Odysseus had let nothing escape him to alarm them. They sat a long time, talking of curious matters, unconnected with the subject which they came about. Suddenly the tent was filled with armed men. "Brethren!" said Odysseus, "have you been contented with me since you have served under me?"—"Yes."—"Well, then, they have sent Nootzas and Palascas to displace me. Are you willing to put yourselves under their command?"—"No, no," cried they. Then turning to the terrified deputies, "You see," said he; and looking at his men, "Come, deliver me of my enemies"—Nootzas and Palascas instantly fell, pierced with wounds.*

The government did not feel itself strong enough to attempt to punish the author of these murders; and the atrocity only served to exalt Odysseus in the estimation of the lawless Klephts of Agrapha and its vicinity.

The Grecian fleet, under the command of the admiral Miowlis, sailed from Hydra on the 12th and 15th of May, and directed its course for

* The account of this transaction given by Soutzo, who says he had it from John Gooras, Odysseus' lieutenant, differs little from that given above. He says, that Nootzas and Palascas were dragged out of the tent, and shot, not in the presence of Odysseus. According to Pouqueville (iv. 51), Odysseus was nowise concerned in the murder, the envoys having been assassinated at Trio-dos, on the spot where Œdipus killed his father, while Odysseus was at Arachova, meditating plans for the good of his country. M. Pouqueville is so extremely anxious to make a hero of Odysseus, that he eagerly defends him against every charge made against him.

Chios, with a view to take some satisfaction for the massacre of the unfortunate inhabitants of that island, and to save as many of them as was now possible. On board of it were Captain Jourdain, of the royal navy of France, (who has furnished the following details,) an officer who had lately come to offer his talents to the service of the Greek cause; Lieutenant Hastings, of the English navy, who had been for some time engaged in the good cause; and several other foreigners.

A part of the Greek navy blocked up the Turkish squadron in the strait of Chios, while the rest of the ships were engaged in taking off the unhappy Chiotes. On the 30th, it was decided that the enemy's fleet should be attacked the following night. Accordingly, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 31st, fifteen ships of war and three fire-ships, under the command of Admiral Miowlis, entered the strait by the narrow passage on the north between Chios and the isle of Strobli, one of the Spalmades. The rest of the fleet kept without, close to the entrance of the strait, forming a line extending from the north point of Chios to the coast of Asia. The Turkish fleet consisted of six ships of the line, nine frigates, some corvettes, and other vessels, in all forty-four sail. That of the Greeks, fire-ships included, amounted to fifty-six small vessels, none of which carried more than eighteen or twenty guns, of from four to eighteen inches in calibre.

The Turkish frigates, which were under sail, on seeing the Greeks advancing, fired three guns, and fled to communicate the intelligence to the

fleet, which was moored before the town of Chios. At the approach of the Greeks, the enemy cut their cables, and prepared for action, in great confusion. Orders were issued for two of the fire-ships to endeavour to get alongside of some of their vessels, and for a third to keep close to the admiral's brig. The Hydraote brigs of the captains Sáctooris, Zúmanos, and Scurtis, joined that of Admiral Miowlis, and all four assailed the ship of Kara Ali, the capitan-pasha. A heavy firing was kept up on both sides ; but the Turks pointed their guns so ill, that they did no injury to the Greek vessels, a few bullets only passing through the sails. The fire-ship attempted to take the pasha's ship on the star-board ; but the captain setting fire to her too soon, the pasha had time to tack, and he immediately crowded all sail to get out of her way. She ran close to his stern, and had her captain delayed but a single minute in setting fire to her, the object would have been attained. The crew of the fire-ship got on board the admiral's vessel, and the fleet began to work out of the channel. The Turks, perceiving their intention, gave chase, and kept firing the whole night long. The Greeks, having tacked till daybreak, went out by the passage at which they had come in ; while the Turks left the channel by the one on the Asiatic side, and thus came almost in contact with the Greek vessels which had remained outside. One of their brigs pursuing one of the fire-ships, the boats were sent to take her in tow, and Captain Balgari attacked the Turkish ship, and made her give over the chase. The Greek fleet, having reassembled, made sail for

Ipsara ; the capitan-pasha showed an inclination to pursue it ; but his fleet, which was off the coast of Asia, took no notice of his signals. Next day they resumed their station in the strait.

In a council of war, held on board the Greek fleet, it was resolved to take advantage of some dark night for attacking the enemy again. It was arranged that two fire-ships should enter the strait at the north passage, at which place some vessels should remain to receive their crews on board when they should have performed their task, while other vessels should keep cruising at the southern passage, in case the wind should oblige them to run the length of the strait.

The night of the 18th June proving favourable for the proposed attack on the Turkish fleet, two fire-ships made sail for the strait,—the one commanded by Constantine Canáris, the Ipsariote ; the other under the direction of the Hydraote captain, George Pépinos. Canaris, who became afterwards so celebrated, had never been distinguished by any striking exploit ; and his small stature, timid air, and embarrassed manners, testified little in favour of his courage.

As they passed the Spalmade islands, they were becalmed within shot of two Turkish frigates. Canaris' men losing courage, he said to them, " If you are afraid, throw yourselves into the sea, and swim to yonder rocks. I will burn the pasha." A breeze springing up at nine in the evening, they entered the strait ; and Canaris finding that his vessel was not so good a sailor as that of Pépinos, " Friend," cried he, " if you get on before me thus, you will have burnt a vessel before I can ever get into the road, and

46 BURNING OF TWO TURKISH SHIPS.

our enterprise will be but half executed. Let me go first, and you will be sure to come up in time and perform your share."

It was now the Ramazan, and the Turks were spending the evening in joy and festivity; the fleet was illuminated, and the ship of the capitán-pasha, in particular, displayed a great quantity of coloured lamps. Several of the captains of the other ships, and a great number of other persons, had crowded on board of it; the trumpets, drums, and cymbals filled the air with their clangour; suddenly Canaris ran up his fire-ship—attached it to the Turkish vessel—set fire to it—jumped into his boat—"Now you are well illuminated!" cried he, as he passed under the poop. The flames spread rapidly; all efforts to extinguish them were vain. The capitán-pasha threw himself into the boat; one of the masts of the ship, as it blew up, struck his skiff and overturned it, and he died on reaching the shore, of the injuries which he had received. Pépinos had, meantime, set fire to the capitana-bey, on board of which was the treasure of the fleet. This ship was but partly burnt; but it was so much damaged as to be for ever incapable of service. Six other vessels were also greatly damaged, by running foul of each other, in the terror and confusion caused by the burning of those two ships. All the vessels moored before the isle cut their cables to escape from the flames; some made for the town, at the risk of going ashore in the port; others directed their course towards the southern passage, and gained *the coast of Asia*; some strove to get out by the *northern passage*. The confusion was equally

great in the town: the Turks, fearing that the burning vessels would go on shore and set fire to it, were thinking of leaving it. If the Greeks had had some more fire-ships, and a part of their fleet had come up at the time, the entire Turkish squadron might have been destroyed.*

When the success of the enterprise was known at Ipsara, the national flag was hoisted on all the houses, and the thunder of artillery, and the ringing of bells, greeted the brave mariners as they landed. Their first act, on coming ashore, was to proceed to the church, to give thanks to the Lord for the success with which he had crowned them. Preceded by the clergy, bearing the ensigns of religion, accompanied by the primates, and followed by an immense concourse of people, they, after coming out of the church, went in solemn procession round the town. Having returned to the church, Cyril, a venerable priest of Smyrna, concluded the usual service by the following prayer:—

“ Shed abroad, O Lord ! thy benedictions on the princes of the earth, and on the people whom thou hast committed to their care. Alleviate in their hands the toilsome burden of government. Surround their thrones with faithful servants ; and suffer them not to forget that the power which they hold of thee is only for the happiness of men.

“ Suspend the devastations which destroy the harmony of thy divine works ; put a stop to the blood which crime and error delight to shed.

* Jourdain, i. 70. A part of these details have been taken from *Soutzo*.

Restore peace ; shed calmness and repose over all the beings which are shone on by the star which is the work of thy hands, and make all hearts know that it is not by hatred and murder that thy blessings are to be obtained."

The Turks, in their rage, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants of the mastic villages, which are on the north of Chios, and which had hitherto escaped their barbarity. Admiral Miowlis, suspecting what was likely to occur, had sailed in person, with a part of his fleet, in that direction. Just as he arrived, the smoke was ascending from the villages, to which the Turks had set fire ; the inhabitants, seeing the Greek ships, crowded to the shore, or took refuge in the mountains, till a convenient opportunity of getting off should offer ; others of them got on a rock out in the sea. A great number was thus saved, but a still greater number was massacred. Thus terminated, on the 19th June, the butcheries of Chios, after having lasted through a space of two months. By a census, taken the fifth of the following month, it appeared that there were but 900 individuals remaining on the island out of a population of 90,000 or 120,000 souls. " Peace and order were thus," as the *Oriental Spectator* expressed it, " perfectly re-established in Chios." *

While the wretched people of Chios were thus the victims of Turkish barbarity, their brethren of Crete, under the command of Baleste

* Pouqueville. It is rather strange that Jourdain, who was on the spot, makes no mention of this last massacre. His notices are, however, very concise in general.

Justin de Rouen, were everywhere successful against the Mussulmans of their island, they had forced to shut themselves up in strong places. The Greeks were particularly anxious to make themselves masters of places as offered a facility of disembarkation, they knew that an expedition, destined to visit the islands, was in preparation in Egypt, they naturally expected theirs to be the first

ed. . . the 11th June, the Egyptian fleet, consisting of three frigates, four corvettes, some and sloops, and thirty-six transports, sailed off Cape Malek, on the northern coast of the island. It sailed along, and came and anchored in the road of Rhetymos. Next 600 men landed from it, without encountering any opposition, and pitched on the shore a splendid tent of Hassan-pasha, the commander of the land troops. On the 16th, the fleet began to ascend the hills; the Greeks proceeded to meet them;—a smart engagement kept up from morning till three in the afternoon. The advantage of position was greatly in the side of the Greeks, and the barbarians were put to the rout. The alarm gun was fired in the road, and immediately a reinforcement of 400 or 500 men landed; with this aid the Turks repelled the Greeks, who were advancing. Baleste, who was but recovering from a fever, had his horse killed under him, and received a wound. His men carried him to the edge of a little wood, where he entreated them to leave him, covered up with branches, till night, and then to come and take him to

the camp at Pletonia. They obeyed him. The Turks, seeing them depart, came and searched the wood till they found the unfortunate officer, whose head and hands they cut off and brought to the ser-asker, by whom they were committed to an imam, who departed in one of the transports, which bore the English flag, and conveyed them to the capitan-pasha. It was on the 18th June that the imam arrived at Chios; the pasha exposed the remains of the brave Baleste at the prow of his ship, and rewarded the bearer with a pelisse of honour. That very night the ship was burnt by Constantine Canaris!

The Cretans soon assumed the offensive, and having slain 1100 of Hassan-pasha's men, forced him to shut himself up in the strong places; where the plague, which they had probably brought with them, completed the destruction of his men.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival of a Greek fleet off the coast of Epirus—Turks defeated in Acarnania—Corps of Philhellenes—Marrocordátos proceeds to Mesolonghi—Attack of Omer Brionos on the Sooliotes—Khoorsheed arrives in Thessaly.

KHOORSHEED-PASHA, when he received the orders of the Sultan for the vigorous prosecution of the war, turned his arms first against the Acarnanians and the Ætolians. During the month of March some ineffectual attempts were made by the Turkish officers to penetrate into Acarnania, and when the vizir was collecting a large body of troops at Arta for that pur-

the appearance of a Hydraote squadron on the coast of Epirus diverted his attention. The Greek squadron, which had a detachment of Maniotes on board, commanded by Kyli, the brother of the bey of Mani, had anchored at Regniassa. It was making sail for Syvota, where some Turkish ships were lying, intending, after taking them, to embark the Maniotes in that place, to cooperate with the Süliotes in the war which were now about to sustain for their existence against the entire force of Khoorsheed. The fleet, however, was forbidden by an English frigate to enter the canal of Corfu; and thus, the prey was almost in view, the Greeks obliged to return to Regniassa. Having rallied the Maniotes at that place, the fleet afterwards set sail on its return to the Ionian.

Being thus secure on the sea side, the Turks decided to make another attempt on Acarnania and having transported 3000 men to Vothia they marched, on the 23d March, against the insurgents. The Greeks were commanded by Captain Macrys, who had succeeded Zongosaraïskaki, their former leaders; and under his chief they beat them so completely, that they retired to Prevesa with the loss of 800 men.

Being again reinforced by a body of 1000 men, the Turks marched out of Prevesa towards Regniassa, which place they invested on the 28th. While thus engaged, they heard the sound of the wooden trumpets appropriated to the vizirs. Convinced that it must be Khoorin in person who was coming to their aid,

and anxious to display their valour to him, they were preparing to give an assault, when they found themselves attacked by Mark Botzaris and the Sooliotes, who had employed that stratagem to throw them off their guard. The Turks were again defeated, and chased as far as *Castra Skia*.*

As the Sooliotes knew themselves to be the chief objects of Khoorsheed's vengeance, Mark Botzaris had been directed by them to propose to the government of Corinth, when he visited that place in the month of May, a plan for a general attack by the Sooliotes, the Acarnanians, Ætolians, and Peloponnesians, on the army which the vizir was assembling in Epirus. The plan, as we have seen, met the approbation of the government, and Mavrocordátos resolved to take the command of the expedition in person. Mark Botzaris remained at Corinth to accompany him.

On the 11th May (O.S.), the provisional government passed an act conferring dictatorial power in Western Greece on A. Mavrocordátos for a space of two months, and a few days afterwards he left Corinth for Patrás.

It was about this time that the corps of Philhellenes was formed. The number of foreign officers who were at Corinth was now very great; the pretensions of many of them were extravagant, and national rivalries were beginning to display themselves among them. The senate, to put a stop to the evils which might result, formed a committee, of which the minis-

* Pouqueville.

ter of war was the president, to enquire into and verify their titles, with a view to employing them hereafter according to their rank.*

On this occasion, a number of officers, some of whom were members of the committee, offered, in the name of their comrades, to serve as common soldiers till they could be employed according to their rank. This proposal was gladly embraced by the government, who were, in fact, in a great dilemma on the subject of giving them occupation; for the little corps of *Baleste*, which was their only regular troops, had its full complement of officers, and there were neither funds nor arms† for augmenting it. Besides, as these foreigners were in general ignorant of the language, of what use could they be, with the exception of the engineers and artillery officers? It was also necessary to avoid the introduction of a variety of tactics into the Greek service, which could only be effected by putting them into one corps for at least one campaign.

When the subject of the name which this corps was to bear, came to be discussed, some were for calling it the Sacred Battalion; but as this name had been already used, and that of Philhellenes (*Friends of the Greeks*) was both more harmonious and more appropriate, it obtained the preference, and Corps of the Philhellenes (Τάγμα τῶν Φιλελλήνων) became the design-

* This account of the corps of the Philhellenes has been furnished by Raybaud.

† The Greek muskets, as has been already observed, were not adapted for the manœuvres of the European tactics.

nation of that in which all foreigners were to serve till they had gotten particular appointments.

To give the greater dignity to the corps, the senate decreed that the chief personage in the state, the president of the executive, should be its colonel. It also directed that a number of young men, of the first families of the nation, should enter it to receive their military education. The different commands in the corps were given according to previous rank and seniority. Where these were equal, the preference was given to him who had first arrived in Greece. Each Philhellene was sworn to serve six months, without imperative and legitimate circumstances occurred to prevent him. The pay was regulated according to each person's real rank, and not to that which he bore in the corps. It corresponded to that in the French service, Turkish piastres representing francs. On account of the poverty of the government, but one-third of it was to be paid in cash—the remainder to be given in bonds, payable at a certain period, or in lands, after the peace. The lowest pay answered to that of a sub-lieutenant, a rank which every member of the corps was supposed to have held.

When the organization of the Philhellenes was completed, and the companies of Baleste increased so as to form too small battalions under the name of the First Regiment, the two corps were brought, on the 24th May, beneath the Acropolis to receive their colours. The members of the government, the prelates, a number of the irregular captains, and of Greeks of

all sorts, were present. The statutes of their organization were read to the Philhellenes, and those who disapproved of them were directed to quit the ranks.* An archbishop blessed the standards, and the president delivered them to the two corps, who took their oath between his hands. Each Philhellene received a document, stating the rank at which he was recognised by the government, and orders were given to hold themselves ready to set forward.

The corps of the Philhellenes presented a motley appearance, as officers of almost all the nations of Europe were there, each in his national uniform. The uniforms of Spain, Portugal, and England, alone, were not to be seen in that valiant band.

This small body of regular troops was to be joined by 2000 Peloponnesians, who were said to be already assembled, under Colocotronis, at Patrás. The government engaged to send a still more numerous reinforcement to it after it should have left the peninsula; the Sooliotes were to join it with 300 men; and the Armatoles of Ætolia, Acarnania, and Epirus, were stated at from 6000 to 8000 men.

On the 26th May, several small vessels, belonging to the Galaxidiotes, which had escaped being burnt by the Ottoman fleet, came to convey the First Regiment and the Philhellenes to Vostitza, by which they would escape three days' toilsome marching. The following day, the president, attended by his staff, by Mark

* Ten, who could not bring themselves to carry the firelock and knapsack, did leave the ranks; but next day the greater part of them sent to be readmitted.

Botzaris and his Sooliotes, a company composed of Zanthiotes and Cephalonians, commanded by Captain Spiro Panna, and some hundreds of Moreotes, set out by land from Corinth. On the 30th, he held a review at Vostitza, and definitively arranged his staff, and the composition of the officers of the Corps of Philhellenes. On the 1st June, they entered the camp of the Greeks before Patrás. Here Colocotronis and his officers waited on the president; but it was found that all the troops he could take with him were 500 or 600 Maniotes, and 300 soldiers commanded by Yanni Colocotronis, one of the captain's sons. Eight brigs having come from Mesolonghi to carry them over, they embarked next day, late in the evening. At dawn next morning they were off that town; but, owing to the obstacles presented by the shoals which are in front of it, it was late in the night before they had all disembarked.

They were received with great joy by the inhabitants, who hastened to inform them of all that had occurred of late in Epirus.

Khoorsheed, anxious to reduce Sooli before he commenced his march for the Morea, sent a large body of troops against Regniassa, which was now defended by only fifty-three Sooliotes, commanded by Costas Timolas and Kitsos.—The Turkish commander, Ahmed Briones, the nephew of Omer-pasha, had orders to reduce them by force or bribery. The Sooliotes repelled the first attack; but, being assailed by an offer of 40,000 piastres as pay due to them for their services at the siege of Jannina, under Ismaël-pasha, and permission to retire to Sooli

with arms and baggage, they agreed to surrender the tower which they occupied.

Noti Botzaris, on receiving the letter announcing this capitulation, was filled with grief; he sent orders to the garrison of Regniassa not to attempt to come beyond the Acheron, and he dispatched a body of men to disarm them, and to bring the two commanders in irons. During two entire days, they were left on the banks of the Acheron; at the end of which time, the council, knowing that in the present state of affairs their services could not easily be dispensed with, agreed, on the solicitation of the clergy, to pardon them, and restore them their arms. The two captains were banished to solitary retreats.

As Khoorsheed had collected all the tribes of the Albanians to his standard, and the troops destined to act against Sooli under Omer Briones, to whom he gave the command, amounted to upwards of 20,000 men, Noti Botzaris and the Sooliote senate began to prepare for defence. Their entire force did not exceed 4700 men, of whom not more than 700 were Sooliotes. It was resolved that Noti Botzaris should post himself at the central position of Gooras with 900 men, to be ready to aid any of the other posts that might require it. Each of the captains was assigned the post which he was to occupy.

On the morning of the 28th May, the detachment of Natché Photomaros, who occupied the position of Seritchani, were just concluding their accustomed exercises of *throwing the discus and wrestling*, when a shout from Mount

Zagoori announced the approach of the Toshkis under Omer Briones. The van-guard of the enemy soon appeared, and a desultory firing was kept up throughout the day. During the night, the Sooliotes learned that it was the intention of Omer-pasha to attack them next day on several points at once, to divide their attention, while he should make his principal effort to get into the centre of the mountains. They immediately lighted fires on the hills, and sent couriers to the other posts, as also to Kyriakooli and his Maniotes, who were at Phanari, near the port of Glychys, to desire him to be upon his guard.

Next morning, the Sooliotes were attacked simultaneously at Gooras, Seritchani, Zavrookos, and Liviskitas. Against this last place, which was defended by the captains Tzavellas and Dracos, and 1000 men, Omer Briones advanced in person, at the head of 5000 Albanians. The combat had lasted six hours, when Tzavellas having attacked them in flank, while Dracos engaged them in front, they fled, leaving 438 slain, and upwards of 500 wounded. Hago Bessiaris was repelled at Gooras by Noti Botzaris, with the loss of 900 men. Tahir Abas hastened to his aid with a large body of troops, and restored the battle. About two in the afternoon, Botzaris, having been reinforced by 300 men, charged the Sheeptars with such impetuosity, that he forced them to retreat with the loss of twelve standards and two pieces of cannon. At sunset the Mohammedans retired, beaten on all points, having had 1300 men killed and wounded, and lost eighteen standards.

The Sooliotes, however, knew that but a portion of the enemy's forces had been engaged, and they began to doubt if they should be able to continue their resistance. By the direction of the chiefs, the women brought them food and wine to refresh themselves and prepare for the toils of the morrow. When the women had performed their task, they retired, by orders of Noti Botzaris, to the precipitous heights of Kiapha, where they might remain in security.

Meanwhile a body of 5000 Toshkis, led by Tahir Abas, were advancing, in darkness and silence, towards Gooras. At daybreak they were at the foot of the ascent; and, sword in hand, they rushed forward to where the Christians were posted. A cool, well-directed fire forces them to recoil; again they press forward at the voice of Tahir Abas, and again the fire of the Sooliotes drives them back. Repulsed four times, they were beginning to disperse, as the custom in such a case permits, when Omer Briones, informed of their situation, came to their relief with a large body of troops, and opened a regular fire on the Sooliotes. The Toshkis having rallied, the combat was renewed, and continued with obstinacy on both sides till two in the afternoon, when Noti Botzaris, perceiving that the enemy had turned his left flank, resolved to retreat. He retired, in good order, to the foot of Mount Vootza, where he established his headquarters at the church of St Nicholas, which commands the entrance of the defile; a part of his troops occupied the hamlet of Moorgas, where the path, turning to the west, leads to the open village of Sooli.

The Christians, in their present position, wearied and exhausted with the toils of the day and the ardour of the burning sun, were totally destitute of water, all the springs being in the quarters of the enemy. They raised their voices, in supplication, to Heaven, and, as if in reply to them, the clouds collected around the summits of the mountains of Sooli, and poured themselves down their sides in copious torrents. At ten in the night the rain ceased, and a company of Sooliote women shortly afterwards presented themselves at the advance posts, requesting permission to share in the dangers of the war; Botzaris acceded to their desires, and directed them to take their station at Samoniva, towards which the troops were to retreat, if beaten.

Next morning early (May 31), Omer Briones marched 11,000 men against the village of Moorgas, defended by 2360 Christians. A battery, which he had erected during the night, began to play on the Sooliotes, who, heedless of the ill-directed fire, remained firm in their positions; and as the Turks advanced, 300 of their best men fell by the Sooliote bullets. But, while their attention was thus occupied by Omer Briones, Tahir Abas and 3000 Toshkis, by making a rapid circuit of several miles through the mountains, had succeeded in planting a piece of cannon on an eminence which commanded Kiapha, and in occupying the village of Sooli. The Christians, on learning this, instantly evacuated Moorgas; the troops of Omer Briones also proceeded in all directions towards Sooli; and, pell-mell, Turks and Christians enter the village. A furious engagement ensues; they charge each other

sword in hand; the town is taken and retaken more than once; the women roll fragments of rocks on the enemies; the gun which Tahir Abas had planted against Kiapha, is hurled down the precipice. At last the Christians are driven across the torrent of Samoniva; and, at two in the day (the hour of greatest heat), both parties ceasing from the conflict, the Turks retired from the bank of that stream which they had been unable to cross.

When the Christians were forced to abandon Sooli, seventy brave men shut themselves up in two battlemented houses, resolved to defend them. Athanasius Dracos had also intrenched himself and thirty men in his own house, situated on an eminence in the village. The resistance made by these gallant warriors was such, that Omer Briones saw that it could only be overcome by artillery. When the Sooliotes saw the cannon approaching, they knew, if they staid where they were, that they should be buried under the ruins of the walls; grasping, therefore, their swords, two of the posts sallied forth, and cut their way through the astonished and admiring Sheeptars. The third, unable to escape, cried, "Bessa ya bessa" (*Faith for faith*), and this formula, in use among the Albanians of different faith, but of one country, secured them a free passage with arms and baggage. At Colóni they rejoined their fellows in arms.

While the conflict was raging at Sooli, Mehemet, vizir of the Morea, and two other pashas, had made a rapid march with 2000 men against the mill of Dala, one of the points which the Sooliotes had determined to defend to the last

extremity. Tooza Zervas, to whom the defence of it was committed, had had so little idea of its being attacked, that he had sent the greater part of his men to the defence of Sooli. Accordingly, he was able to make but a feeble resistance, and Dala fell into the hands of the enemy.

The loss of the Turks on this day, we are told, was 2500, killed and wounded; that of the Sooliotes, twenty men and eight women—an astonishing disproportion, and scarcely credible, even allowing for the great difference of numbers, and the different modes of fighting of the Turks and Greeks, which we have already more than once observed.

The Sooliotes now distributed anew the strong positions among their captains. Noti Botzaris fixed his quarters at Samoniva; the defence of Kako-Sooli, in which Hussein, the son of Mookhtar-pasha, was kept, was committed to Tzegoori Tzavellas; Kiapha, Avaricos, Kionghi, Khona, Dembez, Stretezza, and Seritchani, which last had been retaken, were confided to other captains. The Turks also intrenched themselves in the positions which they had taken: Omer Briones and Tahir occupied the village of Sooli, where they were forming magazines; Khoorsheed's kiaya was encamped on Mount Vootzi; Mehemet-pasha at the mill of Dala.

The position occupied by the kiaya was esteemed by the Sooliotes of so much importance, that they resolved to attempt to dislodge him. Accordingly, on the 5th June, 2000 brave *palicares* clambered up the rocks of Mount Vootzi, and, rushing down on the camp of the Turks,

forced their way into it. They reached the magazines, and set fire to them. The troops of Asia instantly fled ; the Albanians, deserted by them, were obliged to follow their example ; the camp and all it contained fell into the hands of the Sooliotes.

Koorsheed had now been informed of the landing of Mavrocordátos ; he also learned that dissension had begun to manifest itself between Omer Briones and his kiaya ; he was dubious of the fidelity and constancy of the Sheeptars ; the divan was pressing him to make an end of the war in Epirus, and to hasten to Larissa to take the command of the army destined for the recovery of the Morea. He therefore resolved to go in person to Sooli, and endeavour, by force or negotiation, to terminate the conflict.

On the 7th June, the vizir, followed by 3000 men, arrived before Samoniva. He immediately sent to propose his *ultimatum*, which was, that, if they would surrender to him Hussein-pasha and the castle erected by Ali, deliver hostages, and consent to quit their country, he was willing to give them, on the part of the Sultan, an equal extent of territory in Perrhebia, or beyond Pindus, and 12,000 purses (about L.200,000) in money, by way of indemnity, and secure them all the rights and immunities granted by the glorious Sultans to the armatoles of Greece. He gave them three days to deliberate, after which time, if they rejected these terms, he took Allah and the Prophet to witness, they should have neither peace nor truce from him.

The Sooliotes, in the council which they held on receiving these propositions, were unanimous

in their determination to reject them, and to perish in defence of their country. It was even proposed that, in case of extremity, they should slay with their own hands their wives and children, and seek a death for themselves in the midst of their enemies. The women, when this resolution came to their ears, remonstrated against it, demanding to be allowed to die in a manner worthy of the daughters of Sooli ; and at their desire, 400 of them were formed into a company, and armed. The envoys of Khoor-sheed were sent back with a positive refusal.

Hostilities were resumed on the 10th, and the Sooliotes succeeded in recovering the mill of Dala ; but, to counterbalance this, Omer Briones carried the post of Avaricos ; and Noti Botzaris, instead of endeavouring to occupy the attention of Khoorsheed, suffered him to send reinforcements to Omer Briones, who planted some pieces of cannon on that strong position. Next day a large body of the enemy made an attack on Samoniva, and were not repelled till after a combat of five hours.

On the 13th, the Sooliotes resolved to make a bold attempt to dislodge the enemy from Avaricos. A large party of them ascended the hill, while some detachments made themselves masters of the defiles leading to it. The engagement was warm, the ground well contested, when seven Sooliotes, descending the rocks, reached the Turkish magazines on the banks of the Acheron, and set fire to them. The sight of the fire filled the Turks with dismay ; the Greeks pressed on them ; the rout became general. The Asiatics, unable to fly, were tumbled

down the cliffs; the Albanians dispersed and fled. The enemy left 1700 of their men dead; all their standards, artillery, and ammunition, became the prey of the Sooliotes. Omer Briones, obliged to fly on foot, had the mortification to see his favourite Arabian horse in the hands of the enemy. Omer, who, from having served a long time in Egypt, had acquired all the fondness of a Bedouin for his horse, was grieved to the soul at its loss. He offered so high as 5000 talaris (better than L.1000) for his ransom; but the Sooliotes, who preferred grieving Omer to money, refused to restore his steed. Omer then offered the same sum to any one of his men who would either recover the horse, or kill him, that the Christians might not have the satisfaction of possessing him.

At four in the afternoon the following day, the Albanians and the other troops, leaving the village of Sooli, directed their course to the torrent of Samoniva, over which they endeavoured to force their way. The resistance which they encountered was most obstinate. Night-fall separated the combatants. The Turks retired to their quarters; but the Sooliotes, taking advantage of the dark, crossed the torrent, and attacked the village of Sooli. They set the magazines of the Mohammedans on fire; terror and confusion spread among them; they fled in disorder; the Sooliotes forced the quarters of Omer Briones, and took his secretary, his papers, a part of his treasure, and his baggage. All the ammunition and stores were carried by the women into the mountains. Six hundred Asiatic Turks, who had separated from the army, were

next morning surrounded on Mount Dondia. They surrendered, on a promise of their lives being spared ; and having laid down their arms, and prostrated themselves, at the command of the victors, before the cross, they were sent to Khoorsheed-pasha, who had returned to Janina on the 14th.

The vizir received at this time pressing orders from the divan to repair to the camp at Larissa ; and seeing the state of affairs in Epirus, he was not sorry to quit it, and leave to Omer Briones the glory and the danger of reducing the Sooliotes. Accordingly, having given that chief his instructions for the future conduct of the war against them, and having sent his baggage on before him, he set out for Thessaly with 4000 horsemen, and reached Larissa on the 27th June, where he found an army of 50,000 men assembled, ready to obey his orders.*

CHAPTER IV.

Mavrocordátos sets out from Mesolonghi—March to Comboti—Engagement with the Turks—Mark Botzaris sets out for Sooli—Suspicious conduct of Gogo—Capture of Admiral Passano—Troops stationed at Peta—Expedition to Vrontza—Return of Mark Botzaris—Battle of Peta—Slaughter of the Philhellenes—Dissolution of their Corps.

WHILE the gallant warriors of the Selleis were thus defending themselves against ten times

* The preceding details are from Pouqueville.

their number, the troops of the Peloponnesus were advancing to their support. Mavrocordátos, having spent ten days at Mesolonghi regulating the administration of that town, and organizing the supply of provisions for his army in the ensuing campaign, began his march on the 13th June. His army had been reinforced while there by some companies of Ætolians and Acarnanians; and he sent orders to the different captains of Western Greece to meet him with their bands in the valley of Laspic, to the north of Lake Ozeros.*

The army marched the first day along the base of Mount Aracynthus, and encamped on the shore of the gulf of Anatolico. That night an express arrived from Sooli, praying them to hasten their march, as the Sooliotes despaired of being able, if unaided much longer, to make head against the numerous host of the infidels. The following morning, an order of the day in different languages was read to the troops, impressing on them the necessity of flying to the aid of this gallant people, and showing the fatal consequences which would follow, if they allowed them to be destroyed.

That evening the troops bivouac'd near Angelo Castro; and next day they reached the banks of the Acheloüs, which they crossed at the ford of Stratos, and marching across an extensive plain, encamped that evening in the valley of Laspic.

In the night, a council of the Greek chiefs

* The following details of the unfortunate expedition to Epirus are given by M. Raybaud, who was present at most of the events of it.

was held to deliberate on the best mode of relieving the Sooliotes, or producing a diversion in their favour. The council sat in the open air, surrounded by a circle of the soldiers leaning on their long Albanian guns, and listening with profound attention to the arguments and reasons of the prelates, archimandrites, and chiefs of the tribes of Greece, from the brave son of the Selleïs, to the mountaineer of Laconia, who, sitting on their heels, with long pipes in their mouths, gravely discussed the course to be pursued on the morrow. The result of the deliberation was, that, as it was difficult to decide on any thing without being in communication with the insurgents, who, under the captains Gogo, Bacalos, and Varnikiotis, occupied the villages of Peta and Comboti, they should march for this last place.

The army remained at Laspic till the 18th, expecting to be joined by the bands who were to meet them there : but a small portion of them arriving, the march was resumed ; and they reached the shore of the gulf of Arta, where the excessive heat of the weather obliged them to halt near the ruins of the ancient town of Olpæ. As the road which they were now to pursue was rugged and difficult, Passano, the former admiral of Ali Pasha, who was now in the service of the Greeks, happening to be at this place with two small gun-boats, (his entire fleet,) offered to convey across the gulf to Copreni, the port of Comboti, their artillery, which consisted of two field-pieces, and as much of their baggage as they would confide to him.

Having embraced the offer of the admiral,

and embarked their guns and baggage, they entered the defiles leading into the Agraïs, or Valtos. When clear of them, they marched along a plain, covered with fern, which reached above the head of a horseman; and at sunset encamped on the side of the dry channel of a torrent, which was shaded over by immense plane-trees. It was the intention of the president to remain here six and thirty hours, awaiting the return of an emissary sent to Comboti; but the following circumstance obliged him to change his plan.

The ill-blood which had begun to show itself among the members of the Corps of the Philhellenes, had appeared to have resolved itself into a spirit of emulation; and little apprehension was entertained of its returning, when the harmony was interrupted by the Germans loudly insisting on the dismissal of a French officer, who, they said, had wounded the honour of their nation; and threatening to disband themselves, if their complaints were not attended to. The French supported their countryman, though they knew him to be in the wrong; the Greeks themselves were also in his favour. Mavrocordátos was uncertain how to act, so as to content both parties; he was unwilling to deprive himself of the services of a brave officer; and the Germans maintained that their honour compelled them to depart, if their grievance was not redressed. "Gentlemen," at length cried he, pointing towards Arta, "the enemy is yonder; we are going this moment to march against him: let those who wish to retire, proceed no farther." The drums beat along the line; the

Germans were the first in their ranks ; and the march commenced.

They returned to the shore of the gulf, then entered the forest and defiles of the Macrin Oros, and, after a toilsome march of seven hours through them, and the plain to the north between it and Comboti, they reached that village late in the night. On account of the darkness, they did not enter. At break of day, the Philhellenes, and the corps of Tarella, took their position in a little plain, which is almost insulated by the windings of a rivulet, which runs under the heights on which the village stands. The irregular soldiers went into Comboti, and joined the Greeks who were there.

The number of the men who had joined the president since his arrival in Western Greece, was far inferior to what he had been led to expect. In fact, the Greeks had been so long accustomed to the Klephtic, or guerilla system of war, that they could not be induced to form themselves into any thing resembling a regular army. Their repugnance was increased by the shameful neglect of the government, in not exerting itself to form magazines for their supply, in consequence of which, when several bands were at any time brought together, they were obliged to disperse again in search of food ; and they then plundered the inhabitants of the surrounding country in such a manner, that they were frequently heard to regret the milder dominion of the Turks.

The Greek forces at Comboti did not, therefore, exceed 3000 men ; and their number soon began to diminish ; for the supply of provisions

not being regular, those who were natives of that part of the country were continually leaving the camp, and returning to their homes.

The village of Comboti had been deserted by its inhabitants at the time that this part of Greece had been exposed to the extortion and the ravages of Pehlivan Baba. The president fixed his head-quarters at the highest point of it, to have under his eye the different divisions of his little army; and he expected with anxiety the reinforcements which were to come from the Morea. The very day after their arrival at Comboti (June 22), his troops were engaged with the Turks. Count Normann, accompanied by another officer and about twenty men, set out to reconnoitre the environs of Arta. They had scarcely departed, when they returned in great haste to announce the approach of the enemy. The troops had not two minutes to prepare themselves to receive them, when they appeared, to the number of from 500 to 600 horsemen. They advanced with loud cries, and commenced a smart fire, which was returned by the Greeks from the heights; and, while these kept them occupied, Tarella's corps moved along the foot of the hills in order to get between them and Arta, while Colonel Dania, who commanded the Philhellenes, put his corps in motion to turn their left, and throw them under the fire of the irregular bands. They had just got over their left flank, and were certain of attaining their object, when Mehemet-pasha, the Turkish commander, ordered a retreat. Dania, enraged at seeing his prey about to escape him, and heedless of the number of

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the enemy, cried to his little corps to charge with bayonets. The order was scarcely given, when it was obeyed ; but the Turks would not stand to receive the charge, and they went off, accompanied by the shouts of the Greeks, and under the fire of the corps of Tarella, which had not had time to reach its destination. The Philhellenes pursued them for a space of four miles to within a short distance of Arta.

The troops remained in complete inaction for some days, expecting the reinforcements from the Morea. During that time they suffered greatly from the want of supplies, and many of the foreigners fell sick, and some died, in consequence of the scantiness and badness of the provisions which were given to them. An Italian Philhellene, named Monaldi, happening to disappear one night, this circumstance caused a good deal of anxiety and conjecture. He was a man of a retired melancholy character, and had left the camp, it was thought, to go meditate in solitude, according to his usual custom ; but no one could divine what was become of him, and the bustle of war soon caused him to be forgotten. The news of the death of Baleste, and of the brilliant exploit of Canaris, reached the camp in a report from the central government to the president. Intelligence of the distressed state of the Sooliotes, who were unable to supply themselves with provisions, their communication with the coast being completely cut off, also arrived ; and Mark Botzaris resolved to force a way through the lines of the enemy to the support of his brethren.

Accordingly, on the evening of the 3d July,

he set out with 300 Sooliotes on his perilous expedition, leaving the army much weakened by his departure, as well as by the numerous desertions which took place almost daily. As it would be difficult now to maintain Comboti, and it was of importance to conceal the smallness of his army from the enemy, the president decided that the corps of Tarella, and the Ionian company of Panna, should occupy the heights of Peta, which commanded the plain of Arta; while himself, with the Philhellenes and Yanni Colocotronis' Moreotes, should take a position in the wood of Langada, to watch the defiles of Macrin Oros, and keep them open for the troops which he expected from the Peloponnesus.

Peta, which is within a very short distance of Arta, had been already occupied by the captain Gogo and his armatoles. Lieutenant-colonel Stietz, whom Mavrocordátos had sent some days before to examine that position, had been greatly surprised by the continual intercourse which took place between that captain and the Turks of Arta, who sent him every day beasts of burden laden with provisions, so that while they were half starving at Comboti, there was a superfluity at Peta. M. Stietz took care to inform the president of this, and Gogo himself, so far from attempting to conceal it, made a merit of his ingenuity in drawing supplies from the Turks by pretending to be their friend, while his real object, he said, was to lead them into a trap some day or other. He was thus playing a double game, persuading the Greeks that he was deceiving the Turks, and the Turks that all that he was doing was for their advan-

tage. The situation of the Greeks was unfortunately so precarious, that the president was forced to appear to give credit to the protestations of the wily old Klepht, for fear of obliging him to declare himself at once.*

On the 4th, the proposed movements were made ; but the Philhellenes urgently entreating to be suffered to go to Peta, the president complied with their desire, and Count Normann took the command of the two regular corps at that place. A body of 100 men, under the captain Alexander of Anatolico, were left at Comboti to keep the communication open between Langada and Peta.

On the very day that the Philhellenes took their post at Peta, they were witnesses of the capture of the brave Passano. This enterprising seaman had kept continually cruising in the

* It is the opinion of M. Raybaud that Gogo was undecided which side he would take when the president entered Epirus ; the knowledge of more troops being expected from the Morea contributed to keep him so. The Turks wanted him, on the day that the president reached Comboti, to join them in attacking him ; but Gogo replied that the time did not appear to him favourable. They then required him to come to them in the night-time to concert measures ; but this he declined, as, if he went alone, he should risk his life—if he took some of his men with him, he should excite the suspicions of the Greeks. They then asked him to send his son to them as a hostage ; he demanded of them previously 200 purses. The Turks saw well that, if he got the money, he would only laugh at them, and become firmly attached to his countrymen ; they therefore refused, and the matter ended in their sending provisions, and his assuring them of its being for their interest that he should continue to act as he did.

gulf of Arta, and greatly impeded the communication between the two sides of the gulf. Three large gun-boats came out of Prevesa, and attacked him. He long sustained the unequal combat; at length, unable to resist any longer, he tried to run on the lagunes of the north side of the bay, but the wind suddenly failed. He then put out a boat to try and gain the shore by rowing; a ball struck it between wind and water, and sunk it; and the Turks, getting into their boats, drew him, and some of his men, out of the water, and brought them prisoners to Arta. The men were some time afterwards impaled; Passano, who had been intimate with Omer Briones when they were both in the service of Ali Pasha, was, in consequence, permitted to write to the president, informing him that his ransom was fixed at the sum of 60,000 piastres, and to beg of him to effect his liberation. Mavrocordátos, who had not so large a sum at his disposal, offered in exchange for him two or three agás who remained of those taken at Tripolitza. The Philhellenes, and the officers of the first regiment, generously offered to contribute several months' pay towards the discharge of the captive admiral. Circumstances caused the negotiation to be broken off, and the ransom of Passano was eventually paid by his wife—a most estimable and attached woman, who was residing at Ancona.

Peta is situated on the edge of the flat summit of the extremity of the range of hills which terminate at the left bank of the Arta, which runs by the town of the same name. The declivity on which the village stands, ends in a sort

of natural causeway, which joins it to an eminence of about 300 paces in extent, parallel to, and commanded by it. On this eminence the Philhellenes, the Ionians, and Tarella's regiment, established themselves with their two pieces of cannon. Behind them were the soldiers of Gogo, and another chief named Vlacopoolos, amounting to 800 or 900 men. The presence of the newcomers gave no interruption to the intercourse between Gogo and the Turks; provisions came as usual to him out of the town, and it was only at exorbitant rates that he would allow the strangers to partake of them. He made himself a general monopolist of all kinds of commodities, and he raised and lowered the value of money at his pleasure; so that the Venetian sequin, for instance, was one day worth twenty-six Turkish piastres, and next day, if Captain Gogo deemed it for his interest, it was rated at no more than fourteen.

The enemy made no attempt to incommode the strangers in their position; and, as if heedless of their presence, the Delhis came, every morning, out of Arta, to water their horses at the river, and to amuse themselves with throwing the *jereed*. The Philhellenes burned with desire to attack them; but Count Normann, by the orders of the president, restrained their impetuosity, and forced them to remain on the defensive. This state of inaction was odious to Colonel Dania, whose rashness and vanity made him impatient of restraint; and Gogo took advantage of his foible to lead him into an enterprise, in which he hoped to see destruction come on the Philhellenic corps.

A body of 800 Albanians having left Arta to scour the country to the north-east, in order to make the inhabitants remain in their fidelity to the Porte, and to get into the rear of Botzaris, Gogo represented the matter to Dania as a mere excursion of 150 men to levy contributions on a convent near the village of Placa, and thus excited in him the project of pursuing and cutting them off. He gave him a dozen guides, mostly relatives of his own, and promised to keep the communication open between him and Peta, and not to let any want of provisions be felt. Dania fell at once into the snare: the Philhellenes, who languished for action, were eager to set out; some old officers, whose experience taught them the danger of dividing themselves in presence of an enemy superior in number, and of relying on such a man as Gogo, made some objections, but were put to silence with the usual argument of the fool-hardy, "Stay where you are, if you are afraid." The brave Panna and his Ionians insisted on sharing their dangers; and on the 7th of July, at noon, they set out gaily, under a heat of thirty degrees of Réaumur, with a bag of maize on a mule for their whole supplies.

They went along the left bank of the Arta till they reached the gorge leading to Placa, which place they reached in the evening, and found that the Albanians had been there the day before. Next morning, they set out on the way to Vrontza, and after a march of six hours, came again to the Arta, which they found to be both broad and deep in that place. Having crossed it, they entered on a rugged country, cut by torrents, and covered with woods of mag-

nificent timber ; and at night they reached the village of Vrontza, situated on the summit of a range of hills, and commanding an extensive and splendid view over the surrounding country and the Adriatic. They found that the Albanians had left this place but two hours before ; so that but for the treachery of their guides, or their compliance with the custom of the country in discharging their guns to warn the enemy of their approach, they might have come on them by surprise.

The road from Arta to Jannina runs in a valley under Vrontza ; and as all traces of the Albanians were now lost, Dania resolved to remain there, and cut off the communication between these two places. As their provisions were now running short, a messenger was sent off to Gogo to remind him of his promise ; and two posts were established among the trees on the roadside, within a short distance of each other, with directions to let single travellers pass uninterrupted, but to seize all parties as soon as they were got into the interval between their posts. The trap had hardly been laid, when a dozen of Turks, and some Greeks, fell into it. The foreigners with difficulty succeeded in saving three of the captives alive, as the Ionians, after the usual Greek fashion, cut the heads of their prisoners off forthwith.* The same

* It was from these prisoners that they learned the fate of the Philhellene, Monaldi. It appeared that, while they were at Comboti, the Albanians used to steal out of Arta almost every night ; and, concealed by the tall fern and the bushes, creep close to the village, and watch for an opportunity of stabbing the sentinels. On one of

day, several other Turks, who never dreamed of finding an enemy in a country of which they were the absolute masters, were captured.

That evening, a firing was heard in the direction of the Five Wells. Thinking that it must be Mark Botzaris, who was engaged with the enemy on his return towards Peta, after having failed in his attempt to penetrate Sooli, the Philhellenes were eager to fly to his aid. A party of forty of them set forth, guided by the sound of the musketry ; when it ceased, chance led them to a post of the Turks, within an hour of the Five Wells ; they killed several of them, the rest gained the mountains. Fearing that they might go astray, the Philhellenes halted there for the night ; and next morning they returned safe to Vrontza.

They had been now three days at Vrontza ; their provisions being exhausted, they had nothing to subsist on but the heads of the maize roasted on the coals ; and no tidings were come

these occasions, they caught Monaldi, who had gone to a little distance from the village, and brought him to Arta. The imagination of the prisoner was terrified by the idea which he conceived of the tortures which awaited him ; and when led before Mehemet-pasha, he, on being asked whither he was going, replied that he was passing over to the Turks. Promises were lavished on him, and every attention shown him, in order to induce him to make discoveries ; and the Turks learned from him the real strength of the Greek army, which their fears had greatly exaggerated after the action at Comboti. These attentions were continued for two days longer, when the pasha, finding that he could extract nothing more out of him, ordered him to be strangled, and his head exposed in the market-place.

from Gogo. After a vain attempt to induce another of the guides to be the bearer of a second message, M. Raybaud was directed to set out with a small escort, and some sick Philhellenes ; and in case of his not obtaining from Gogos what was required, to go on to Langada, and inform the president of all that had occurred, and impress on him the importance of maintaining the station at Vrontza.

M. Raybaud set out on the 13th ; and at midnight he arrived at Peta. Gogo seemed surprised to see him, and betrayed some confusion ; but nothing could be obtained of him. At dawn, M. Raybaud proceeded to Langada ; and the president instantly issued the necessary orders for sending supplies to Vrontza. As he had heard that there was an Austrian vessel at Mesolonghi with arms and ammunition for sale, he directed M. Raybaud to proceed thither to make purchases ; and to bring to the camp some field-pieces, which had been left there to be mounted.*

Mark Botzaris had been unable to effect his passage to Sooli. In twenty-four hours after his departure from Comboti, he met with Turks ; and his project being discovered, a part of those who were before Sooli, were sent against him.

* On arriving at Mesolonghi, he found that the Austrian ship was gone. Finding the cannon ready, he was anxious to set out with them ; but the entire of the 16th, though time was so precious, was consumed in disputes between the magistrates and the workmen who had made the carriages ; the former refusing to pay the paltry sum of 700 piastres (L.18.) Next day, at noon, a Sooliote arrived with the tidings of the battle of Peta.

He did not, however, give up his project : fighting by day, and making forced marches and countermarches by night, he kept a large body of the Turks in constant occupation, till the want of provisions, and the increasing obstacles which he encountered, obliged him to retire to Peta, which he reached on the night of the 14th. The firing which had been heard from Vrontza was that of one of his numerous conflicts with the infidels.

A Greek of Arta arrived at the same time at the camp with information that the Turks had been, for the last two days, concentrating their forces, which had been reinforced by a number of men, drawn from the garrisons of Prevesa and Jannina ; and that they intended attacking the position of Peta on the 16th. Count Normann immediately sent an order to the Philhellenes, who were at Vrontza, to return without delay. The messenger arrived safe ; and they and the Ionians entered the camp a few hours after Botzaris and the Sooliotes.

The next day, a council of war, composed of General Count Normann, Colonels Tarella and Dania, Lieutenant-Colonels Guberneti and Stietz, of Catzopoolos, Spiro Panna, Botzaris, Gogo, and Vlakopoolos, was held to deliberate on the place of action. Tarella, Stietz, and Botzaris, were of opinion that the Philhellenes and the first regiment should form the reserve, and be posted on the heights over Peta, and the irregulars be disposed in the ruins of that village, and on the eminence before it, on the sides of the mountain, and at the entrance of the road to Comboti. This plan was evidently the dictate

of prudence; Gogo at once declared against it; the vainglorious Dania made it a point of honour not to quit the post which he had taken on coming to Peta; and Count Normann proved that it might have an ill effect on the minds of the Greeks, if they were to see the regular troops retiring, and themselves placed in the post of danger, on the eve of an engagement. The rest of the council were of the same opinion; and a different disposition was determined on.

The Greek troops were accordingly placed in two parallel positions, the one before, the other behind the village; the former was occupied by the regulars; the Philhellenes forming the left wing, the post of greatest danger; the regiment of Tarella had on their right the two field-pieces and the ten Philhellènes who served them; and a little to the rear, on the same side, was Spiro's company of Ionians. The irregulars were stationed behind the village; Gogo's soldiers forming the right wing; the Sooliotes, the left; and Vlakopoolos occupying the centre. In case of their being forced to give way, the Philhellenes were to fall back through the villages on the irregulars.

The troops passed the night of the 15th under arms. A full hour before day, they heard the neighing of horses and the clatter of arms in the plain. The sentinels who were out in advance, discharged their pieces, and retired to the main body. Day, as it broke, discovered the lower hills covered with troops. The Turks, who numbered from 9000 to 10,000 men, formed in good order a large crescent, of which the right, consisting of 600 horse, proceeded to occupy the

road to Comboti. A strong party had, during the night, ascended the river, to intercept the communication with Placa.

The infantry, arranged by bairaks (*standards*), was soon in motion, and advanced rapidly, with loud shouts, towards the position occupied by the Franks. When they came within 400 yards of it, they fired, and amazed at their fire not being returned, they ceased their shouting and halted. After a moment, the bairaktars advanced, each planted his standard, and brought up his company. In this manner they advanced from spot to spot, following their standards. They were from 3000 to 4000 in number, Albanians, with Jews mingled among them.

They were come within 100 paces of the Christians, and were just in the act of rushing forward to the attack, when those who had hitherto maintained a most profound silence, opened a tremendous fire on them. In an instant they ran down the hill, leaving its side strewn with their bodies.

The Greeks of Tarella's regiment, who had never before fought in line, had been a little uneasy when their officers made them receive the enemy's fire without returning it; but that feeling was only momentary. The Philhellenes were even gay and cheerful; and one of them, Merzievski, a Polish officer, and lieutenant of the corps, taking with him no more than twenty men, ventured to go down the hill, to dislodge a body of the Albanians, who were forming under the shelter of a deserted chapel, and killed several of them. The enemy renewed their attacks during two entire hours; each time they

spread the ground with their carcasses; the grape-shot from the two pieces of cannon did great execution among them; but still their ardour did not diminish. The Ionians, who had manifested prodigious courage and coolness, at length began to perceive that they were considerably outflanked, and that the enemy seemed inclined to attempt getting through the village to the heights above it. Gogo saw that his time was come: after a single innocuous discharge, he turned and fled. At this sight, the Turks rush on furiously; the Ionians, who have as yet lost but ten men, are driven back, and one-half of them fall; a ball, which is too large, gets fast in the mouth of one of the field-pieces, the other is thrown by a recoil out of its carriage; the young Swiss, Wrendlie, who commanded the artillery, gets disconcerted, and he and most of his men are cut to pieces. The left of the enemy enters Peta, and begins to occupy the upper and lower positions; the first regiment, attempting to effect its retreat through the village, is enveloped by the enemy, and its rear companies destroyed. The Philhellenes should not have lost a moment in retiring; but the absurd vanity of Dania made him persist in remaining a few minutes longer. Tarella left his own regiment to come and entreat him to retire, but all was to no purpose; and his generous conduct only served to envelope him in the general destruction. The Philhellenes, on looking up to the heights, whither they were to retire in case of need, beheld them covered with the Mohammedan standards; for when Gogo ran away, Vlako-poolos, having then his right uncovered, followed

his example ; and Botzaris and his 300 men, seeing themselves on the point of being surrounded, were forced to do the same. A furious body of Turks, carrying in their hands the heads of the officers and men of Tarella's regiment, whom they had killed, and of the sick whom they found in Peta, were now advancing with loud cries. The features of Dania betrayed a momentary alarm ; he gave the word to retreat, but retreat was now impossible.

Pressed on all sides by crowds of the infidels, the Philhellenes now thought only of selling their lives as dearly as possible. They rushed for the road to Comboti ; it was occupied by the Turkish horse. The moment they left their position, it had been seized by the Albanians ; a tremendous fire is kept up on them ; the instant one of them falls, a hundred infidels spring forward to cut off his head. A negro, getting before Colonel Dania, seizes his horse by the bridle ; he parries with his scimitar the blows of the rider, till twenty of the Toshkis come up, drag him down, and cut off his head. Merzi-evski, followed by eleven Poles, endeavours to force his way through the village, but they are all cut down the moment they enter it. Captain Mignae, being wounded in the leg, rested himself against the trunk of an olive-tree ; the richness of his uniform led the Turks to think that he must be the principal among the foreigners, and they wished to take him alive. His sabre broke upon the fourteenth Albanian whom he stretched at his feet ; he attempted in vain to cut his throat with the piece which remained in his hand, and he was seized by the infidels. The

Philhellene Chauvassaigne snatched his standard from a bairaktar ; it was retaken ; he seized it again, and held it till he was hewn to pieces.

The main body of the Philhellenes reached the foot of a little hill ; and here, unable any longer to overcome the obstacles to their progress, they sank to the earth around their standard. All the officers of the corps who were present on this fatal day, perished without a single exception.

A few Philhellenes made their escape, pursued for three quarters of an hour, fighting every step they took, and defending themselves by means of the branches of trees and pieces of rock, till they reached the foot of a precipitous mountain. On its summit they beheld some Greek soldiers, and a general discharge from the heights came in time to drive off their pursuers, and to save the exhausted Franks. These Greeks were the soldiers of Gogo ; and it is the most probable supposition, that, ignorant of the treachery of their chief, whose orders to retreat they had obeyed without enquiry, they now spontaneously aided the unhappy fugitives ; and that Gogo either could not or would not venture to prevent this act of humanity. As for himself, the next day saw him in the ranks of the infidels.

The loss of the Turks, on this day, exceeded 1000 men, among whom were many persons of distinction. During two entire days, more than 100 mules were engaged in transporting the dead and wounded to Arta. The Ionians lost one-half of their number ; the first regiment a third, sixteen officers, and its colonel. Of the Philhellenes, three-fourths perished, but eighteen

surviving out of ninety-six. Among the survivors was General Normann, who had behaved with the utmost valour, and been wounded in the action.

The Turks, by means of blood-hounds, searched all the trenches and crevices of the neighbourhood, and thus discovered a few wounded men, whom they instantly massacred. The few prisoners whom they made, were compelled to carry to Arta the heads of their companions; and after undergoing all kinds of tortures and indignities, were, some time afterwards, all put to death.

As Combotti was in the hands of the enemy, the remains of the army were obliged to effect their retreat to Langada, along the ridges of the mountains. Their miserable state, when they arrived, caused the most lively grief to the president. Some* have taken upon them to reproach this excellent man with cowardice, and with having the blood of so many brave men to answer for; but they had fought without his knowledge, and contrary to his wishes. His object in placing them at Peta, was, we are assured,† not to maintain that post, but to engage the attention of the Turks, and thus to favour the project of Mark Botzaris, as also to prevent their learning the real weakness of his forces.

Having waited the entire of the next day for any who might have escaped the Turks, and no one coming in, orders were given, on the 18th, to evacuate Epirus. Had the Turks had sense to take advantage of that delay, and occupied the defiles of Macrin Oros, the destruction of the

* Jourdain, i. 88.

† Raybaud.

Greeks had been almost certain. No one appearing to oppose them, they entered Acarnania, having left a few hundred men to guard the defiles—a precaution now needless, as the enemy commanded the gulf. The president fixed his quarters at Machala, which commands the valley of Laspic and Lake Ozeros. Shortly afterwards, Mesolonghi being menaced by the capitán-pasha, he hastened to undertake its defence.

The feeble remains of the corps of the Philhellenes, which was now joined by eighteen foreigners lately arrived, was put under the command of Colonel Raybaud. Various circumstances occurring to disgust them with the service,* and the consciousness, that, in their present reduced state, they could be of but little use, they expressed, after the apprehensions from the Turkish fleet were removed, their desire of returning to their homes. The president made no opposition to their wishes; he gave each a written testimony of his services, joined with an invitation to return when the affairs of Greece should be in a more favourable state; and the gallant corps of the Philhellenes was thus broken up.

Thus ended the unfortunate expedition to Epirus; and those who judge after the events, without considering the state of things at the time a plan is formed, have condemned the conduct of Mavrocordátos in leaving the Morea at the moment when it was threatened by a for-

* Some of the Greek officers of the first regiment had waited on the president to require him to put the foreigners out of it, and to admit in future none but natives.

midable invasion. But it should be recollected that at the time when the president left Corinth, the Greeks held the pass of Thermopylæ, and Khoorsheed was still in Epirus; it was therefore to be expected that, by a powerful diversion being made in that part of the country, he might be unable to leave it, or even to send any part of his troops to Thessaly, perhaps be obliged to summon to his aid a part of the army collected at Larissa. Had the captains of Western Greece brought to his standard the number of men they had promised; and had Colocotronis and the other Moreote chiefs been anxious to reinforce him, it is not at all improbable that his project would have had complete success. As it was, the failure of it must be chiefly ascribed to the base treachery of Gogo.

CHAPTER V.

Turks of Napoli di Romania agree to capitulate—Surrender of the Acropolis of Athens—March of Mohammed Dramali—The Acro-Corinth deserted by the Greeks—Murder of Kiamil-bey—Consternation of the Greeks—Mohammed Dramali arrives at Argos—Colocotronis made Generalissimo—Engagements in Argolis—Retreat of the Turks—Destruction of them in the defiles of Treté.

WHILE the president was absent in Epirus, the Turks of Napoli di Romania offered a surrender on the same terms as those granted to the garrisons of Malvasia and Navarino. The members of the government deemed it advisable

to leave Corinth, and remove to Argos, in order to carry on the negotiation. The Acropolis of Corinth was therefore victualled for six months, and the command of it confided to a deacon of Hydra named Achilleas. Why a priest should have been selected for this important post, none of the writers inform us.

One of the chief objects of the government in removing to Argos, was to see that the treaty should be faithfully executed, and to prevent the treasures contained in Napoli becoming the prey of a few covetous captains. They were therefore anxious above all things to keep away Colocotronis, who, they knew, would, if he had an inkling of what was going forward, soon find a pretext for quitting Patrás, and hastening with a good body of his men to where the hopes of booty called him. It not appearing, however, perfectly safe to act openly against a man who had 6000 soldiers under him, the government resolved to proceed cautiously, and by way of stratagem. Accordingly, the primates of the different villages to which his men belonged, agreed among themselves to send simultaneous orders to them to leave him. The orders met with prompt obedience ; and the most powerful of the captains saw himself, in an instant, left with a few Arcadians of his native district of Caritena. He was consequently obliged to raise the blockade of Patrás ; and the Turks began to burn the remaining olive-trees, and to ravage the surrounding country without molestation. To revenge himself on the government, Colocotronis sent secret orders to his son Yanni to return immediately to the Morea ; and, like a

dutiful son, that youth quitted the camp at Langada, on the very eve of the battle of Peta, without deigning to give any other reason for his conduct, than that his father wanted him.

Freed from their apprehensions of Colocotronis, the members of the government proceeded with all imaginable slowness in the affair of Napoli. The articles having been signed, the Turks were anxious to leave the place as soon as possible: but not so the Greek sages; they wished previously to take an inventory of all the effects which the place contained, and to plan the best mode of preserving them from the soldiery. With this view, sixty or eighty writers were sent into the place, with some trusty persons to direct their labours. Hostages were delivered on both sides, till the Turks should be sent in neutral vessels to Asia, according to treaty. They, moreover, put into the hands of the Greeks the little fort of the sea which commands the town, but which is itself commanded by Palamidi.*

While all was going on thus leisurely and tranquilly at Napoli, the besiegers of the Acropolis of Athens were acting with more promptness on a similar occasion. The Turks in that fortress were now completely exhausted by suffering. They had been, for two months, enduring all the torments of thirst beneath the burning sky of a southern summer. It was in vain that they supplicated heaven for rain;

* M. Raybaud received all this information from M. de Villasea, who scarcely quitted Colocotronis during the year 1822.

their prayers were unheeded ; the only moisture which they could obtain was by licking, in the morning, with their tongues, the dew from the marbles of the Parthenon, or squeezing it out of clothes, hung out at nightfall to collect it. Since the assault made by the Greeks on the 28th April, hostilities had been, in a great measure, suspended. Conversations were now carried on without any violence or insult ; and on the 16th June, the besieged offered to capitulate on nearly the same terms as the other garrisons had done ; but they declared that they would perish sooner than open the gates if the foreign consuls, especially M. Fauvel, the French consul, did not take a part in the negotiation. M. Fauvel positively refused to have anything to do with a treaty which, he said, he was confident would be violated ; and it was not till after several days, that his repugnance was overcome.

To give the greater solemnity to the proceeding, the foreign residents all proceeded in their uniforms to the Austrian consulate, in whose spacious court were assembled all the military chiefs, the primates, the clergy, and as many soldiers as it could contain. The Holy Scriptures having been brought forth, the consul of France addressed those present to the following effect :—

“ Since the commencement of this war, Athenians, your brethren of the Peloponnesus have exposed themselves to the just reproach of not having shown themselves at all times scrupulous observers of the faith which they had pledged ; and your enemies have not hitherto found, in the conduct exhibited towards them, a sufficient

warrant for delivering up to you, without uneasiness, their existence, and their honour. The attention of the world, which is at present fixed on Greece, rests more particularly on this city, of glorious recollections. Like you, it waits with impatience the moment which is about to crown your long efforts. Let not, then, the day which will convey to it the intelligence of your triumph, tell that you have sullied it by perjury. Give an answer, by your conduct, on this occasion, to the reproaches which one might be tempted to address to a portion of your countrymen. O Athenians ! people have at all times felt a pleasure in distinguishing you from them by the mildness of your manners, and by your humanity ; fear then to lose without recall such a reputation ; swear to protect the weak ; swear to spare the unfortunate."

The oath was unanimously taken ; and on the 20th June, the gates of the Acropolis opened to admit the Greeks. Of the 100 Turks left to defend it by Omer Briones, but forty remained alive ; of the multitude of women and children who had taken refuge in it, a feeble remnant testified the sufferings all had endured. They descended to take up their abode in the former dwelling of the voivode, till ships should be procured to convey them to Asia. The standard of the cross was raised on the summit of the Parthenon, and saluted with joyful acclamations by the beholders. A portion of the riches which the fortress contained was secured for the provisional treasury, the remainder was divided among the captains and their soldiers.*

* *These details were furnished to M. Raybaud by M.*

The storm which had been for some collecting in Thessaly, was now about to over Greece. The army of Khoorshee considerably augmented by the troops whi Porte, now at ease on the side of Russia, sent to it from the army of the Danube. was now no enemy in Epirus but the Sool and one bold effort might, it was though nihilate the government, and the power Greeks. Accordingly the ser-asker issu orders to Mohammed Dramali, the vizir Morea,* to set forth, and take possession provinces.

On the 1st July, Dramali quitted the of the Peneus at the head of 30,000 men third of whom were cavalry ; he had also of 800 topjees (*gunners*), with sixty field-j and he was followed by 1500 camels and other beasts of burden, laden with prov ammunition, and baggage. On the 5th, h ved at the Sperchius, and then entered th of Thermopylæ. The defence of this imp passage had been confided to Odysseus, the government had found it necessary to state in his command ; but the heretofor of Ali Pasha evinced no anxiety to emul self-devotion of Leonidas. Gained by the did offers of Khoorsheed, or, as some

Fauvel, and some other eye-witnesses. Mr Wadd who visited Athens in 1824, differs considerabl M. Raybaud respecting the number of the Tur surrendered, which he makes to have been very g

* Vizir *in partibus* he is wittily called by the historians. The Morea was conferred on him as *palik*.

* *fin* persuade us,* acting with the profoundest policy, he retired, and suffered the army of Mohammed Dramali to enter Boeotia without opposition. The march of the pasha to Thebes and Livadia was equally unimpeded; he penetrated the gorges of Mount Cithæron, and entered Megara, whose inhabitants had retired to the isle of Salamis. Here he continued for two days, without committing any injury, hoping, by this conduct, so unusual in a Turk, to spread an opinion of his mildness; which, combined with the terror of his arms, would induce the Moreotes to submit the more readily; for he knew so little of the spirit which animated the Greeks, that he imagined the publication of an amnesty, and some slight alleviation of the burden of their taxes, would suffice to place them once more in the rank of obedient subjects.

On the 13th, Dramali appeared before the

* It is really ridiculous to read in Pouqueville (iv. 99 *et seq.*) the circumstantial account of the council of war held, on this occasion, by Odysseus, and the deep policy, and extensive knowledge, joined with true patriotism, displayed by that chief on the occasion. It is only to be paralleled by a speech of the Archbishop Germanos, (given by M. Pouqueville in one of his former volumes,) replete with knowledge which that prelate (of whom M. Pouqueville makes the same use that Tasso does of Peter the Hermit) could not possibly have had at the time, and political wisdom of which we much doubt if he was capable.

We are farther told, that after the passage of Dramali, Odysseus wrote to Colocotronis, saying, "I send you 30,000 Turks; you may do what you will with them, but I shall let no more pass." M. Raybaud observes, that though he was in Greece at the time, he never heard a word of this letter till after his return.

great dervend (*pass*) leading into the Peloponnesus. As he reckoned on meeting a vigorous opposition at this place, he left a part of his baggage at Megara, under a guard of 2000 horse, designed also to protect his rear, and to keep the communication open with Thessaly.

The Dervend is a pass not inferior in importance to that of Thermopylæ, and not less capable of defence. The custody of it had been committed to George Sekeri, with 1500 of the militia of the canton of Tripolitzá. But these raw troops were filled with terror at the sight of the large masses of horse and foot which they beheld advancing towards the post which they occupied; and, after a single discharge of their arms, they turned their backs and fled, carrying alarm with them. Their terror was communicated to the garrison of the Acro-Corinth. The base and cowardly priest who commanded there, abandoned that nearly impregnable fortress, even before a single Turkish soldier had come in sight.*

Before Achilleas left the citadel, he put to death the unfortunate Kiamil-bey. This worthy Mussulman had, from the time that he was brought to his former abode, been subjected to every species of vexation and annoyance, in order to extort from him a discovery of the place where his treasures were concealed. It might be supposed that it was torture enough to be a prisoner in that fortress, where, some short months before,

* This worthless priest, unable to bear the contumely with which he was treated on account of his conduct, put an end to himself shortly afterwards.

his word had been law ; where, each time his eye might chance to wander over the surrounding country, he beheld the gardens and vineyards, the meads and pastures, which once had been his own. But the cruelty of his jailors separated him from his family, shut him up in close confinement, and deprived him of all those enjoyments which are almost essential to the existence of a Mussulman. The once wealthy Bey of Corinth has been often seen inhaling with avidity the smoke with which his guards filled his prison, while even the gratification of a pipe was withheld from him. By this cruelty, however, nothing was gained ; for Kiamil died without revealing his secret.

On the evening of the 14th, the army of Dramali came and encamped between Corinth and the sea, out of the reach of the artillery of the citadel. Early next morning, he sent 100 spahis to reconnoitre its environs. As they were advancing cautiously, they saw an old female black slave coming down from the Acropolis. When she had joined them, they led her before the general, whom she informed, that she was sent by the wife of Kiamil-bey to tell him that the garrison had fled. Dramali, unable to believe what seemed so incredible, required a second message from the wife of the bey to convince him. He then ascended to take possession of the fortress, which was only occupied by that lady and five or six of her women, who had all, like herself, been the victims of the lust of the priest, and had probably, for that reason, been left alive.* The wife of Kiamil-bey implored

* Raybaud, ii.

the vizir to avenge the death of her husband; and she showed him the place where his treasures had been concealed. *

Before he advanced any farther, Dramali sent one of the eight pashas who were under his orders, with 3000 horse, to occupy the southern side of the gulf of Lepanto, and to keep up the communication with that place and Patrás.

The arrival of Dramali at Corinth came like a clap of thunder on the Greek government, as the intelligence of it was almost simultaneous with that of his leaving Thessaly; and they had reckoned, with confidence, on Odysseus stopping him at Thermopylæ. They sent off immediately to the Gerusia, or provincial senate, of the Morea, which was sitting at Tripolitza, to propose that they should come and join them, to deliberate in common on the means of saving their country. This proposal was rejected by that body, who felt a high degree of surprise at the government being so tardy in their measures.

The Grammaticos, who were taking the inventory in Napoli, left that place in the utmost hurry; and the Turks, conjecturing thence that relief was at hand, laid aside all ideas of capitulation, and detaining some of them, added them to the number of the hostages already in their hands.

The greatest terror prevailed at Argos, where every eye was fixed on the members of the government, watching what course they would take. Bands of Maniotes, to whom it was a matter

* Pouqueville says in a well; Soutzo, in a garden. Raybaud makes no mention of the circumstance.

of indifference whether friend or foe were the sufferer, provided the plunder was to be had, flitted, like birds of prey, around and through the town, eagerly expecting the departure of the inhabitants. As this event was delayed, their impatience was losing all bounds. At length the day was fixed. In the night preceding it, a cry of, "The Turks! the Turks!" accompanied by the discharge of musketry, was heard on different sides. The whole population, among whom were numbers of those who had escaped from the massacres of Chios and Aivali, rushed from all sides, on the road to Lerna. The Maniotes, who had raised the alarm, immediately began to plunder all over the town; and, lest any thing should escape their avidity, small parties of them were disposed in ambush along the road leading to the sea, to strip those who might have gotten out of the town with any things of value. A handful of foreigners, who attempted to oppose them, were disarmed and ill-treated; and having an opportunity, shortly afterwards, of embarking, they returned home, and disseminated the impressions, unfavourable to the Greeks in general, which they had conceived from the conduct of these vile brigands.

The fugitives, instead of making for the interior of the peninsula, seemed to place their only safety in putting the sea between them and the Turks, and rushed into the water to get on board of some vessels which were moored at a little distance from the shore. The members of the government, rejected by the Gerusia, fearing the Turks, and menaced by Colocotronis, who *had now resumed* all his insolence, embraced the

ignoble resolution of taking flight;* and they sought refuge on board one of the Hydraote brigs which were guarding the bay—a step by which they lost themselves irrecoverably in the minds of the people.

The present place seems not inappropriate for making the reader acquainted with the characters of the principal members of the government.

The vice-president, Kanákari, was a respectable old man; his knowledge was extensive, his patriotism beyond suspicion; but he was slow and hesitating in his resolves.

Orlandos of Hydra possessed a good deal of various knowledge, owing to his frequent voyages to Europe. His character was frank and honourable. Bulgari, the minister of marine, was brave, loyal, and patriotic; but he could neither read nor write. The character of Count Métaxa, the minister of police, was beyond reproach; and his talents and knowledge highly respectable. Theótoki, the secretary of the war department, was a man of considerable talents and knowledge, to which were united much modesty and candour.†

“ To speak little, to impose by a grave and assuming demeanour, to elude the looks of the penetrating, to display, on due occasions, some superficial acquirements, to escape from explanation by a disdainful silence, and to cover the

* These particulars were communicated to M. Raybaud by M. Ashling, a major of artillery, who was with the government at the time.

† It is thus that these different persons are characterised by Jourdain, i. 96.

most extreme cupidity by the veil of the greatest disinterestedness,"* is the unfavourable character given of Coletti, once physician to Mookhtar-pasha, now minister at war for Greece.

"A low stature, a thin body, large lively black eyes, a sensible countenance; such was the exterior of Theodore Negris. A man of genius, active, indefatigable; timid by nature, bold by ambition, professing popular principles, and employing the most refined Machiavelism to ensure the triumph of his party: he was one of those turbulent and daring spirits who are born to agitate society; he cared for office only so far as it served to display his capacity; now by a captious logic, now by a masculine eloquence, he carried the assemblies with him, and prostrated his adversaries: as long as he lived he was persecuted and calumniated; when the tomb had been raised between him and his fellow-citizens, regrets often attested his services." Such is the portrait of the minister of foreign affairs, sketched by the pencil of Soutzo.†

Hypsilantis had been carried away by the torrent; and had gotten on board of a small vessel, under Russian colours, which was at Lerna, but he did not long remain there. Returning on shore, he sought to raise the courage of the people; and, having collected about 200 men, he threw himself into the castle of Argos, resolved, with this handful of brave men, to attempt the defence of it, though without cannon; their

* Jourdain.

† It is to be recollected, that both Soutzo and Jourdain are extremely adverse to all the friends of Mavrocordatos, and favourable to his enemies.

whole ammunition being a few cartridges, their provisions extending only to a supply for five days. He directed the remaining houses in Argos to be burnt, that the enemy might have no shelter, if disposed to halt there. The work of destruction was hardly completed, when the Turkish host appeared in view.

The plain of Corinth is separated from that of Argolis by a range of mountains, which reach to the sea; the only entrance to this last is through a succession of defiles, which might be easily made nearly impracticable by some slight works of defence, by means of which a handful of men could stop the progress of an army. The last of these defiles is named Treté; it opens into the plain of Argos; and through it now, a corps of the army of Dramali, 10,000 in number, was seen debouching into the plain, followed by a long train of beasts of burden, laden with provisions. They passed through Argos, leaving a portion of their forces in the gardens of that town, and proceeded to Napoli di Romania, where a salute of 500 cannon shots greeted their arrival.

The Turks who remained at Argos sent to summon the little garrison of the castle to surrender. The prince directed the deputies to be admitted into his presence, having previously taken all due precautions to conceal from them the real state of affairs. He told them that he and his men were determined to die rather than surrender, and advised them to spare themselves unnecessary trouble in attempting to reduce the castle. Though the remaining stock of provisions was not calculated to last more than two days, he entertained the envoys with profusion,

made no secret to them of his name, though he knew that he might be thereby augmenting their desire to reduce the place, as the Turks, in general, at that time, and long afterwards, regarded him as the author and the soul of theurrection. Accordingly, when the Turkish commanders learned who was in the castle, their desire to take it redoubled ; but, apprehending more vigorous resistance than they had at first anticipated, they lost in deliberations about the mode of proceeding, the time which should have been employed in action.*

The Gerusia of the Peloponnesus, seeing the burden of providing for the public safety now, if it were, thrown upon them, were anxious in their deliberations on the subject. But it was action, not deliberation, that was now required ; and it was manifest that something similar to a dictatorial power must be committed to some chief well acquainted with the country, popular with the soldiers, and regarded by the captains. The inertness of his character rendering the bey Mani unfit for the situation, and Colocotronis being evidently the only man in whom these necessary qualifications were united, he was naturally thought of ; but the members of the senate, who had so lately injured and insulted him, hesitated to place uncontrolled power in his hands. While, however, they hesitated, Colocotronis, who saw how the popular feeling was in his favour, raised his standard without asking any authority for so doing, and soon he held 7000 men ranged beneath it. All the

* Raybaud.

captains of the peninsula hesitated to notify to him their readiness to obey his orders, and at length the Gerusia, yielding to the general impulse, exerted itself to augment the number of his soldiers.

The first act of the new Archistrátegos was to send the brave Nikítas, with 3000 men, to seize the entrance of the defiles on the side of Corinth, to cut off the communication between the Turks who had entered Argolis, and those who had remained in that town. He himself, crossing Mount Artemisius, appeared before Argos on the 23d July, just as the enemy were attacking Prince Hypsilantis on his rock. A warm action ensued: the Greeks were repulsed, and retired into the space between the road to Lerna and the mountains. Next day, they resumed the offensive, and succeeded in driving the enemy from the ruins of Argos, with a loss of 150 men.

Mavromichális had collected his Maniotes, and descended to Lerna, where the head-quarters of the Greeks were now placed. Crowds of mountaineers from all parts of the Peninsula repaired thither, amongst whom were to be seen many mere boys, who left their flocks to come and fight against the infidels in the cause of their religion and their country. The enemy made several attempts to pass the Eresinus, but was always repulsed with loss.

The vessels on board of which were the members of the government, kept near the shore in order to communicate with the head-quarters of the army. One gun-boat was placed at the *little Castle of the Sea*, another at the *Mills*, a third was with the vessels of the government,

to be employed if necessary, and a number of caïques were placed at the disposal of the military commanders, to transport troops to any point where their presence might be required.*

The troops and people of Napoli refusing to fire on the little fortress, the pasha sent thither some European gunners; and on the 4th August, at break of day, they began to cannonade it. The fortress replied so vigorously, that the inhabitants sent several times to request that the firing might cease, promising to make every effort to hinder the pasha's gunners from continuing it on their side. These combats, however, lasted for five days, beginning every morning at break of day, ceasing at ten o'clock, the time of greatest heat, and being resumed between three and four o'clock, and kept up till sunset. During the night, the fortress fired

* M. Raybaud, whom we have hitherto followed in our account of the invasion of Dramali, is on many points utterly at variance with M. Jourdain, who was at this time on board the vessels in the bay of Napoli. M. Raybaud, for example, says that Hypsilantis shut himself up in the castle of Argos *before* the Turks had entered Argolis; M. Jourdain says it was on the 30th July that he did so, after a general action against the Turks. M. Jourdain says, that Hypsilantis and Mavromichális had been making head against the enemy long before the arrival of Colocotronis. The accounts of these writers are in many points irreconcilable; and we must confess that, though M. Raybaud was not in Argolis at this time, our opinion of his accuracy and sincerity is such, that we are disposed to give him the preference on all occasions. As a specimen of the inaccuracy of M. Jourdain, it will be sufficient to notice his assertion, that it was not till long after the Turks had entered Argolis that the citadel of Corinth was evacuated by the Greeks.

seven shots an-hour to keep the Turks on the alert.*

The plain of Argos had now been for nearly a month the scene of almost daily conflicts between the Greeks and the Turks, in which, owing to the nature of the ground, the advantage had been chiefly on the side of the former. The soldiers of Dramali began to lose courage; they had already consumed a great part of the provisions destined for the garrison of Napoli, and they loudly demanded to be led back to Corinth. The vizir resolved to try once more the effect of negotiation. He sent to inform the Greeks that if they would lay down their arms, he would engage to govern them with mildness, diminish the kharatch, and relieve them in various ways. But his proposals were treated with disdain; and seeing that nothing was now to be accomplished by force or negotiation, he resolved to endeavour to effect his retreat to Corinth.

On the evening of the 22d August, Dramali encamped with the 8000 men whom he had remaining, at the mouth of the defiles of Treté. A body of 1800 Greeks, who were posted there, retired during the night, to give him an opportunity of engaging himself in them. Next morning, at dawn, the Turks entered the defiles; and, with their usual negligence, never thought of placing what little infantry they had on their flanks. Accordingly, their left had hardly entered them, when clouds of Greeks, who came after them, climbed the sides of the

* Jourdain.

untains, and, protected by the rocks and bushes, kept up a destructive fire on the column of Turks who were crowded in the narrow passage below them. The infidels, unable to make any resistance, could only quicken their pace to get out of the perilous situation in which they had so imprudently placed themselves. The space behind them was covered with pools of blood, and with dead and wounded men and horses, and a party of Maniotes, who followed close in their rear, made a plentiful vest of heads and booty. After being for seven hours exposed to the destructive fire of

Greeks, they at last thought themselves on the point of getting out into the plain, when, at a spot where the defile narrows and makes a sharp turn, they beheld the heights before them crowded with enemies. These were Nikitas and his men, who had been long on the wait for them. The combat was renewed; the Turks, finding themselves surrounded, fought with desperation; 2000 of them forced their way, and were safe to Corinth; a larger number turned their horses about, drove before them the Maniotes, and galloped at full speed, never stopping till they found themselves under the cannon of Napoli; 3000 still remained—finding themselves surrounded on all sides, they cast down their arms, and sued for mercy with loud cries, in vain.* The rage of the Greeks against those who were come into the peninsula to

M. Jourdain says that the entire defeat and slaughter of the Turks was effected by Nikitas and 100 men. How much less credible than the account given by Raybaud!

exterminate them was not to be appeased, and they made a general massacre of the whole.

The spoils of this day were upwards of 2000 horses, 700 camels, all the baggage, tents, standards, cannon, and a quantity of arms. The loss of the Greeks on this glorious occasion, did not exceed 100 men. It was on this day that the valiant Nikitas received the appellation of *Turk-eater*, on account of the number of the infidels whom he slew.

When the news of this victory spread beyond the isthmus, the captains of Phocis and Boeotia, who had fled to the mountains at the approach of the Turks, crowded to the standard of Odysseus, who entered Megaris at the head of 5000 men; and falling on the corps left by Dramali to protect his men, and guard the entrance of the Dervend, he drove them into the peninsula, and occupied the pass.* He then advanced to attack a convoy of powder and provisions, which was on its way, with an escort of 3000 men, from Larissa to Corinth. He killed 600 of the escort, drove the remainder back to Thessaly, and seized the greater part of the convoy. Koor-sheed had now proof of what confidence he was to repose in his gold and promises for gaining the

* Jourdain, Pouqueville, and Soutzo, say that the Dervend was occupied by 3000 men, conveyed to Megaris by Tombasis. They were islanders, according to the first, troops from the Morea, according to the others, sent by the government while Dramali was still in Argolis. M. Raybaud is surely not so partial to Odysseus as to tell a falsehood for the sake of exalting him. Perhaps the two accounts may be reconciled by supposing that the islanders, or Moreotes, were reinforcements sent to Odysseus.

desertion of Odysseus, and had the mortification to find that he had been completely deceived by that chief.

After the departure of Dramali from Argolis, Hypsilantis proceeded, with some soldiers, to Athens, and thence to the Dervend, to join those who were guarding that important pass. The members of the government had fixed themselves at Hermione,* opposite the isle of Hydra, to be able, if necessary, to take refuge in that isle from the Turks, or from Colocotronis, according as the case might be.

The Greeks divided their forces: one portion, under Peter Mavromichális, remaining to harass the Turks who were under the walls of Napoli; the other, commanded by Colocotronis in person, whose head-quarters were at St George, acted against the troops who were with Dramali at Corinth. Scarcely a day passed without an attack being made on the enemy by Mavromichális. Both Napoli and the little fort preserved a strict neutrality, even when the combat was going on under their cannon. On one of these occasions, Nicholas, brother of the Turcophagos, was carried by his ungovernable horse, during the pursuit, into the midst of the Turks, and he fell by their weapons.

The communication between Corinth and Patrás was almost totally interrupted; besides the troops of Colocotronis, the peasants of Mount Cyllenus and of Pernitza, and the former inhabitants of Vostitza, were continually on the

* Raynaud. M. Jourdain says at Astró, on the other side of the bay; and we are disposed to think he is correct.

watch to cut off any parties who attempted to proceed from one of these places to the other. Almost the only intercourse kept up between them was by sea, and this was rare and uncertain, as it depended on the humour of Yoosoof-pasha, who was jealous of the superior rank of Mohammed Dramali. This last officer deemed it most advisable to wait for the arrival of the capitan-pasha, who was, he knew, to come to throw supplies into Napoli di Romania, when he might make an attempt to re-establish a communication with that place, and prepare for greater efforts in the ensuing campaign.

CHAPTER VI.

Massacre of Turkish Prisoners at Athens—Turkish Fleet arrives in the Bay of Argos—Ungracious conduct of the French—Turkish Fleet obliged to retire—the Sooliotes capitulate—Omer Briones and Resheed-pasha invade Eastern Greece—Deputies sent to Verona—Agent sent to London—Siege of Mesolonghi—Retreat of the Turks—Surrender of Napoli di Romania—Defeat of the Turks at Kaki Scala—Attempt to destroy the Turkish Fleet—Congress summoned.

As M. Fauvel had anticipated, the articles of capitulation had been violated at Athens. When the army of Dramali passed Thermopylæ, the Athenians, expecting that their city would be one of the first objects of attack, retired, as before, to Salamis. Unfortunately, but a very small part of the Turkish garrison had been embarked for Asia at that time; it was there-

fore deemed the shortest course to put those who remained to death. They were accordingly massacred,* and the women reduced to slavery. After they returned from the island, however, these last were nearly all ransomed by the different consuls; and they were kept, until they could be sent to Smyrna, in the house of M. Fauvel, who had retired to Syra, indignant at the base violation of the treaty in which he had been concerned.

The Acropolis had been occupied successively by five or six petty chiefs; at length, the primates, weary of their insolence, adopted the resolution of inviting Odysseus to Athens, and placing the town and its inhabitants under his protection. On his arrival, the citadel was put into his hands, and a large portion of the wealth which had been found in it, appropriated for the payment of his troops.†

* The garrison, according to M. Raybaud, did not exceed thirty men; while this diminishes the extent of the massacre, we know not that it does not enhance the guilt of the Greeks. M. Raybaud was at Athens very shortly afterwards, and he had his account from those who were there at the time; he is, farther, by no means disposed to draw a veil over the atrocities of the Greeks. Mr Waddington, who was at Athens in 1824, states the number of Turks who were in the Acropolis when it surrendered, at 1140; that of those who were massacred, at 400; and perhaps his account is nearer the truth.

† M. Raybaud, who saw Odysseus at Athens, observes that he appeared to him to possess a remarkable sagacity and rectitude of judgment, joined with a prodigious avidity for instruction. Having learned that his name was beginning to attract attention in foreign countries, he began to manifest a regard for his reputation, which even troubled his repose.

Eastern Greece was now completely under the dominion of this chief; the power of Colocotronis in the Morea was still more absolute: he governed with an authority completely dictatorial; the members of the government were without influence; the Gerasia trembled at his look; the soldiers and the mountaineers of Arcadia regarded him with reverence, and obeyed his mandates implicitly.* The Turks certainly derived one advantage from the ill-fated expedition of Dramali: it was the occasion of destroying the incipient form of regular government, and of throwing absolute power into the hands of one to whom religion and country were as nothing, when set in the scale with what he deemed his private interest.

Meantime, the Greek navy had once more

* The following striking instance of the influence of the name of Colocotronis with the peasantry of the Morea, is given by M. Raybaud. As he and some other officers were crossing the Morea, their guides and muleteers having run away from them with their beasts in the night, they had to proceed on foot, and without guides. Having reached a hamlet in the valleys of Mount Pholoë, wearied and exhausted with a toilsome day's journey, they tried in vain to purchase some provisions. They spoke of the war, of the Philhellenes, of Mavrocordatos, of Hypa-lantis, but to no purpose; and, from the looks of the peasants who surrounded them, they were not without apprehensions of being plundered of the few articles they had with them. Fortunately, an Ionian servant thought of saying that they were repairing to Colocotronis, by his express desire; that name operated like magic,—provisions were furnished in profusion, every tongue was *voluble in giving* the required information, every one was *eager to offer his mule or his ass to convey the strangers to the town of Dimitzana.*

distinguished itself. Early in the month of August, a combined Turkish, Egyptian, and Barbary fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and a number of smaller vessels, forming a total of eighty-eight sail, had rendezvoused before Patrás, intending to sail round the peninsula, and to proceed with a supply of provisions to Napoli di Romania. Preparations to oppose them were made by the Greeks in the gulf of Napoli, and a fleet of sixty sail was assembled before the isle of Spetzia. Troops were sent into that island to prevent a landing, and the women and children were removed to Hydra, as being a place of much greater security.

On the 20th September, the Ottoman fleet, which had been delayed by contrary winds, made its appearance. The Greeks had placed eighteen vessels and eight fire-ships, arranged *par echelons*, in the strait opposite the town of Spetzia, in such a manner that but six ships were to fight at a time, so that the Turks would have to force three lines before they could pass the strait. Another part of the Greek fleet was directed to suffer itself to be pursued by the vanguard of the enemy, so as to decoy it in between Hermione and the isle of Hydron, and then to get round between Hydron and Hydra, and thus to place the enemy between two fires.

That very day when Greece was once more to engage the barbarians for liberty and independence, three French ships appeared before Hydra to demand indemnification for the seizure of an Illyrian brig under French colours; the captain of which had been employed by the

divan to endeavour to corrupt the governor of Malvasia, and, in case of success, to land a cargo of corn for the use of the Turks, when they should have obtained possession of the fortress. The honest governor, indignant at the attempt to make him a traitor, had confiscated both ship and cargo, and laid the captain in irons ; and, for this supposed insult to the French flag, M. de Viala seized ungenerously the present occasion of demanding 35,000 piastres from the Hydraotes, since the central government was not in a condition to discharge that sum. In vain the Hydraotes protested that they had had nothing to do with the affair. All that they could obtain was a delay of twenty-four hours for raising the money ; the French commander menacing them, in case of a refusal, with indemnifying himself by seizing their vessels.

The following day, the Turkish fleet attacked the Greek vessels in the strait, and a part of it pursued the Greek vessels, which fled, according to the plan previously laid down. The wind happening to fall, the Greeks were unable to put their plan fully into execution ; the fire-ships, which they sent off, effected nothing, only one of them getting close to a vessel of the enemy. This was a Tunisian frigate, fifty of whose men instantly jumped on board of her to get her off ; but they perished, the victims of their self-devotion. After an engagement of six hours, the Turkish fleet retired, unable to force a passage.

The time given by the French commander expired, when the engagement between the fleets had lasted about three hours. As the

was not ready, he was induced to grant a
ours more ; but these also expired before
gagement ended. The French ships were
ng before the town, and within shot of the
ies ; a galliot, belonging to the brothers
riotis, and on board of which were the
res given by the Turks of Napoli two
is before, passed backwards and forwards
en them and the shore. She was just
into the port when a ball from the Fleur-
went through and through her, and L'Ea-
; fired four shots against the shore. A
indignation rose from the numerous spec-
, which was increased by their seeing two
put off from the French frigate and make
e Greek galliot. The officers commanding
boats were directed to make the insolent
reasonable demand of the delivery of the
sh hostages. Their commander, it would
ver appear, thought better of it ; for a
was soon made for their return on board.
Greeks, though so justly irritated, and
h they had so much reason for suspecting
rench for acting in concert with the Turks,
ufficient command of themselves not to
n them ; they evaporated their rage in
fictions on the French nation in general.
at evening, or the next morning, the 35,000
es were paid. The French vessels, how-
remained a few days longer in the bay, to
the result of the combats between the
leets.

the 23d, the capitan-pasha again approach-
etzia. It was expected that the town would
be burnt ; but, as his principal object

was to relieve Napoli, he sailed into the gulf of Argos. When he was come off Cavooro-Nisé, where the gulf narrows very much, he sent off an Austrian vessel, laden with maize, for the relief of the garrison. She had gotten about half way, when a Hydraote fire-ship gave her chase. The French frigate* was at hand; the Austrian made signals of distress, but they were unheeded; another Greek vessel came up, and took her, in sight of the people of the garrison of Napoli, and of a Turkish fleet of eighty-six sail.

During the night, the Greeks brought their prize out of the bay. On board of her they found letters from the capitan-pasha to Ali-bey, the commandant of the town, doubtless intended for being made public, in order to keep up the spirits of the people, and filled with lies and boasts. In another letter, however, the admiral gave something more resembling the real state of affairs.

The Turkish admiral now gave up all thoughts

* In the beginning of August, during the blockade of Napoli, this French frigate and an English one, commanded by Captain Hamilton, entered the gulf, and anchored not far from the little fort. The members of the government came on board, and begged that they would respect the blockade. The English officer readily consented; the French captain declared, that being at liberty to act as he pleased, he would communicate with the Turks.—Jourdain, Pouqueville. It is but justice to the English officers in general to say, that they did not, in the slightest degree, participate in the feelings of hostility entertained by their government, and the ruler of the Ionian Islands, against the Greek cause. The interests of trade did not operate so strongly on the minds of sailors and soldiers, as to make them view the efforts of a brave people for emancipation with indifference.

of relieving Napoli, and crowded all sail to get out of the bay as speedily as possible. The Greek fleet pursued him, but was able to do him but little mischief. On the 27th, the Ottoman fleet was clear of the bay, and on its way for the Dardanelles. A storm, which came on shortly afterwards, dispersed it; and the capitan-pasha sought shelter in the bay of Suda, in Crete.*

In the month of August, the brave Kyriacoolis and his Maniotes were attacked at Phanari by an overwhelming force. Two accounts, equally romantic, and utterly irreconcilable, are given of the death of this chief, by two writers, whose desire to produce effect, constantly leads them to at least the verge of fiction. According to one,† finding that the place could be no longer maintained, he desired his men to provide for their own safety, and to place him on the breach, that he might die in face of the foe. His body was covered with wounds, and the shades of death covered his visage when his brave followers laid him down. He distributed his arms among them, gave his blood-stained girdle to his faithful squire to carry to Marathonisi in Mani, that it might be hung up in his house, to remind his family of vengeance; three times he cursed Sir Thomas Maitland, who had sold Parga, and impeded his generous enterprises; then, returning thanks to God for having granted him to die a glorious death, he besought his soldiers not to let his head fall into the hands of the Turks; he pro-

* MM. Raybaud and Jourdain were both on the spot; but their accounts by no means coincide. On this, as on most occasions, I have preferred following the former.

† Pouqueville.

nounced the name of his nephew, Elias, and then fell asleep in the bosom of the Eternal!

Our other romancer* says, that Kyriacoolis, having scattered terror through the region of Tsamidia, encamped near Phanari. The Tsamides, to the number of 7000, came one night, and encamped beside him, a small marsh only separating them. With daylight, seeing the vast superiority of their numbers, he intrenched himself, resolved to act on the defensive. At mid-day, the barbarians advanced to attack him. Perceiving their commander, who was richly attired, and mounted on a stately charger, Kyriacoolis recognised in him the kiaya of Khor-sheed; he called to his men to fire; rushed out of the camp to attack him: the kiaya, who knew him at Tripolitza, was not slow to advance to meet him; the Maniotes fire, the kiaya falls; the Albanians rush forward to cast a green carpet over his body; Kyriacoolis, seeking to drive them off, is hit by a ball, and falls, and expires beside his rival. His men, dispersing, make the best of their way home to their native mountains.

Such are the fictions in which writers, calling themselves historians, permit themselves to indulge. We have given them as a specimen of the manner in which this history has been written. A far more judicious and better-informed man than either of them,† simply says, that Kyriacoolis fell in a conflict on the banks of the Acheron, probably not far from Phanari.

The Sooliotes now saw themselves without any prospect of aid, and they began to lend a

* Soutzo.

† Raynaud.

willing ear to the representations of the British agent at Prevesa, who undertook to be the mediator of a treaty between them and the Turks. He accordingly sent four delegates to that place, who signed, in conjunction with those dispatched thither by Omer Briones, a capitulation, by which they agreed to evacuate their mountains within six weeks, and proceed to the isle of Cephalaria, on board of the vessels of his Britannic majesty, where a residence was to be assigned them at Assos, on that island; it being understood, that nothing in this treaty was to prevent their joining their brethren on the continent, and bearing arms against the Turks, whenever they pleased.

Accordingly, when the term was expired, 322 warriors, headed by Noti Botzaris, and followed by about 900 women and children, partly belonging to those who were with Mark Botzaris, descended from their mountains, with their arms and baggage, and proceeded to the port of Glycys, where, on the 16th September, they embarked on board of the transports provided for them, and sailed for Cephalaria, under the escort of two English brigs of war.*

Omer Briones, being now absolute master of Epirus, resolved to attempt the reduction of Acarnania. He came to Arta, where the differences which had arisen between him and Koor-

* M. Pouqueville discerns, in this transaction, another instance of the English treachery, which meets his view at every step. M. Raybaud, more just, regards it as an act of humanity, and as ultimately favourable to the cause of the Greeks.

sheed-pasha were accommodated, as is said,* by the mediation of the British consul; and a negotiation opened with Varnikiotis, the chief of the armatoles of the district named Xerómeros. This unprincipled chief, who was the intimate friend and associate of the infamous Gogo, readily entered into an engagement to betray the cause of his country; and he gained over to his plans Rhangos, and several other Acarnanian captains. The Greeks were, in consequence, obliged to give up the blockade of Vonitza, and to abandon the whole country west of the Aspropotamos. The pashas advanced with 12,000 Albanians, a numerous body of cavalry, and a good train of artillery; they passed the Achelouís at Shotos. Macrys, and the other captains who were faithful to their country, took refuge, with their armatoles, in the precipitous mountains of the Agrais; the people of Vrachóri set fire to the town, and sought shelter, with their families, in the forests of Mount Callidromos. One corps of the Turks advanced, under the command of Omer Briones, towards Mesolonghi, by the road of Stomora. Koorsheed-pasha led the other to Vrachóri. The defection of Varnickiotis and the other chiefs, had spread such discouragement among the Greeks, that little resistance was made to the Mussulman arms in any place. Mark Botzaris and his men formed a noble exemption to the general inactivity; for, having intrenched themselves at the fountain of Crio-Nero, situated where Mount Aracynthus approaches the sea, opposite Anatolico, they resisted the division

* By M. Pouqueville.

of Koorsheed-pasha till but twenty-two of the Sooliotes remained alive. With this remnant Botzaris retired to Mesolonghi, where the president had shut himself up, resolved to defend it to the uttermost; and, on the 7th November, the Turkish army, having encountered no other resistance, came and invested the town on the land side; while Yoosoof-pasha sent from Lé-panto five or six vessels to cut off all communication with the sea.

The members of the Greek government, sitting at Astros, on hearing that the general congress of the European sovereigns was now met at Verona, and that the English and Russian ambassadors to the Porte had set out to attend it, and state the condition of affairs in Greece, deemed it prudent to send thither envoys on their part, who would inform the congress of the real state of things, the successes lately gained, and the unalterable determination of the Greeks never again to place themselves under the yoke of the Turks. The persons selected to perform this office, were Count Metaxas, the minister of police, and M. Picolo; but the latter falling ill on the eve of their departure, M. Jourdain, at the request of the primates of Hydra, agreed to take his place. The deputies sailed from Hydra in the end of October; and, on the 4th November, they landed at Ancona.*

Two other subjects occupied the thoughts of the Greek government: the one was the condition of the island of Crete; the other, the means of procuring the funds necessary for continuing

* Jourdain.

the war. The former did not appear to them to present much difficulty ; all that was requisite being the recall of Michael Comnenus Afendoolieff, whom Hypsilantis had sent thither, and who, by his arrogant assumption, alienated the minds of the Cretans, and impeded the general cause. It was accordingly resolved to recall and try him for his conduct, and to send the brother of the late admiral Tombasis to Crete, with the title of Harmost, to direct the civil and military affairs of the island.

For the accomplishment of their second object, the Greek financiers turned their regards towards England, where that loan and company-mania was just commencing which was to present to the world, still more glaringly than the South-Sea project had done, a picture of the combined wealth and folly of the English nation. It was proposed to send an agent to England, to see about raising a loan for Greece in that country, for payment of whose capital and interest, the Vacoof, or lands which formerly belonged to the Greek church, but which had been seized by the Turks, and bestowed on the mosques, should be mortgaged to the public creditors. Andrew Looriótis of Arta was the person fixed on who should proceed to London, and endeavour to negotiate this important affair.

These matters being arranged, the government, in the end of October, resolved, as the colds were setting in, against which the bleak region of Cynuria offered little protection, to remove to the more genial climate of Argolis. They accordingly fixed their abode at the village of Cranídi, the ancient Hermione, on the west-

ern point of Argolis, where they could also more conveniently keep up a communication with the island of Hydra, whose inhabitants occupied so important a station in the present glorious struggle.

Meantime, the president was occupied with the care of defending Mesolonghi: for it was evident that the possession of that town would make the Turks absolute masters of Ætolia and Acarnania, and nothing then would remain to prevent their pouring the desolating hordes of the Albanians over the Morea, and of perhaps renewing the scenes of 1770. Mavrocordatos was therefore resolved to defend it to the last extremity. A number of the inhabitants had abandoned it, and sought shelter in the Ionian Isles and in Elis; his example and his exhortations infused courage into those who remained; and the brave Mark Botzaris, a hero worthy of the best days of ancient Greece, aided the president with his arm and his counsels.

Mesolonghi is situated at the entrance of the gulf of Patrás, in a plain extending from the fort of Mount Aracynthus to the sea. On the north and north-west it is surrounded by groves of olive-trees; the plain to the east is bare. It is washed by the sea on the west and south; but the water is so shallow, that the smallest vessel cannot approach to within less than two leagues of the town. The intervening shoals form fisheries, which are divided into extensive compartments by palings and reeds, set for the purpose of keeping in the fish. These form a complete labyrinth, known only to the people of the place. *The fishers live mostly in the midst of the lagoons,*

in huts erected above the surface of the water, on four stakes; monoxyla, or canoes made from the trunk of a tree, are the principal species of boat employed in these waters. Within the enclosures, but not far from the outer edge of the shoals, is an islet named Vassiladi, formed of transported earth, on which was a battery, composed of a few ill-mounted iron guns, guarded by about twenty soldiers.

Such was the situation of Mesolonghi, the capital of Western Greece. Its fortifications consisted of only a slight wall, with battlements, and a fosse seven feet wide and four deep; its whole artillery were five unmounted pieces of cannon; and all the soldiers that Mavrocordatos could muster amounted to but from 500 to 600 men.

It was on the 29th October, that the president threw himself into Mesolonghi; the intervening space of time between that and the 7th November, the day on which the Turkish army appeared before the town, was spent in repairing and strengthening the fortifications. As a means of deceiving the enemy, the Greeks adopted the expedient of fixing a parcel of bayonets, which they had got in some old stores, upon poles, and setting them up in rows behind the walls, so that they might appear above them, and lead to false inferences as to the strength of the garrison.

Had the Turks attempted a storm on their arrival, they must have undoubtedly carried the town; but the jealousy among their chiefs precluded all harmony and concert. Both Resheed and Yoosoof pashas were envious of Omer Briones, and little anxious that he should have the glory of

reducing Western Greece to submission. They were, therefore, sufficiently ready to thwart any measures which might lead to the accomplishment of that object. A motive, which acted equally on the minds of the three chiefs, was avarice; if the town was taken by assault, all the wealth which it was supposed to contain would, they knew, become the prey of the victorious soldiery, while a capitulation would place it at the disposal of the generals. Again, each of the pashas was anxious to make himself master of the person of the head of the Greek government; and each, unknown to the others, wished to open a communication with the besieged, to purchase defections, to grant separate capitulations, so as eventually to secure the acquisition of that desirable prize. Mark Botzaris was the great object of their manœuvres; they expected to find in him a Gogo or a Varnikiotis; but the noble Sooliote played off their own devices against them; and, for a space of three weeks, amused them with hopes of his becoming a traitor. The president employed that time in forming internal works of defence, and in increasing the jealousy and distrust of the Turkish chiefs, by giving each of them secret information of the private plans of the others: the soldiers, on both sides, held communications and conference with each other in the open air, as we have seen was the case at the siege of Tripolitza.

The situation of Mesolonghi was early made known to the government; and, on the 21st November, seven Hydraote brigs appeared in the gulf of Patrás, captured a sloop belonging to the blockading squadron of Yoosoof-pasha, and

forced the remainder of it to seek refuge in the gulf of Lépanto. They then proceeded to Chiarenza, to take on board 1200 Peloponnesians, who were assembled there, under the command of Mavromichális, Zaïmi of Calavrita, and Londo of Vostitza, who landed four days afterwards at Mesolonghi.

The garrison was now about 1700 men strong, and a new auxiliary had appeared for the Greeks, in the state of the weather. Heavy and incessant rains had turned the ground on which the Turkish army was encamped into a complete marsh. Fevers and other maladies were the consequence ; and, while the Turks were in this situation, the garrison made two or three successful sorties. The generals now saw, that the only object of the Greeks, in their negotiations, had been to gain time. They resolved, therefore, before their army melted away, or they were obliged to decamp, to try the effects of a vigorous assault. They accordingly fixed on the night of the 24th December (O. S.), a time when the Christians would, suspicious of no such event, be in their temples, engaged in the celebration of the holy mysteries of their religion, as the time in which they might most probably be taken by surprise.

Eight hundred chosen Albanians were ordered to advance, in the dark, with scaling-ladders, to the weakest part of the walls ; a corps of 2000 men was directed to follow at a moderate distance, to support them, while the rest of the army, divided into different corps, were to move on opposite points, to distract the attention of *the besieged.*

his plan had been discovered. A poor fisher-
 who had carried fish to the camp, heard the
 ers speaking of it; getting into his mono-
 n, he made all the speed he could to the town,
 ve information to the besieged, who accord-
 stood on their guard. The 800 Albanians
 ied the wall, but only two* of them crossed
 constant firing, on all sides, was kept up
 e besieged; and the dawn of day showed
 of the infidels lying dead around the walls.
 loss of the Christians was but six men.

elve days afterwards, the Turks, having
 d a part of their artillery, † commenced their
 at; but the whole country was now in arms
 at them; the captain Rongos, they had
 ed, was hastening, with 3000 men, to occupy
 efles of Langada, and Mavromichális, who
 defeated a party of the Turks at Draga-
 a, was endeavouring to get between them
 Vonitza. As the army of Omer Briones
 eded, they were harassed by the Ætolian
 itaineers; and, when they reached the Ache-
 they found its waters so swollen, that they
 obliged to retire to Vrachori, and act on the
 isive, till the flood had subsided sufficiently
 ow them to pass; they then effected their
 at to Arta, leaving Ætolia and Acarnania
 e possession of the Greeks.

ch was the glorious termination of the first
 of Mesolonghi; and its gallant defence con-

hese were two bairaktars; one of them was killed,
 er made prisoner. Three of the six slain Christ-
 ere killed by this last.

he Greeks dug them up the next day, and brought
 nto the town.

fers equal credit on the courage and the talents of A. Mavrocordátos. There were but five foreign officers in the town during the siege; one of whom, the brave General Normann, died of a gastric fever on the very day that the Greek ships appeared before the port.*

During the time that the Turks were making these efforts to regain their dominion in Western Greece, they lost one of the few strong places which they still held in the Peloponnesus. After the disgraceful retreat of the capitan-pasha, the Turks of Napoli were reduced to great extremity. It was in vain that Dramali endeavoured to pass to them a convoy with provisions; the passes were too well guarded, and the town too closely invested by the Greeks, to allow of any supplies entering it by land, and the vessels dispatched by the Franks of Smyrna and other places for the same purpose, were captured by the Greek cruisers, and carried into Hydra. It is to be observed, that at this time the British government began to respect the blockades of the Greeks; a ship, under British colours, laden with supplies for Napoli, being taken, carried into Hydra, and confiscated, the English admiral declined interfering; and bills of clearance were refused in the Ionian Isles, to all vessels laden with provisions for places effectively blockaded by the Greeks.

* To our great regret, the narrative of M. Rayband, the most trustworthy of all our authorities, ends at this place. This writer and M. Fabre have been our guides in our account of the siege of Mesolonghi. Pouqueville and Soutzo enter more into detail; but these are writers in whom we have less confidence.

On the 10th December, a Turk and his wife came at night into the camp of the Greeks, and told them, that, impelled by hunger, the garrison of Palamidi had gone down into the sea, saving a very few men in the fortress ; and that the garrison had not returned, and that they had come to implore the mercy of the Greeks rather than perish by starvation. On receiving this account, the chiefs resolved to attack the fortress by a *coup de main* ; and, the night of the 11th proving dark and tempestuous, the Greek soldiers ascended the hill on which the fortress stands, and cautiously approached the gates, which they found lying open. The few Turks who were in it made no resistance ; and on the morning of the festival of St Andrew, the saint of the Morea, saw the standard of the Greeks floating on the castle of Palamidi. The Greeks were preparing to open a fire on the Turks, when the Turks offered to capitulate. The capitulation was readily granted, on the same terms as before, the Greeks undertaking to transport the Turks to Asia, and retaining the property of those employed in that affair, these being to be afterwards ransomed. These terms were most rigidly adhered to by the Greeks, and the Turks were all safely landed at Brindisi, the English commodore, Hamilton, offering to transport them thither. The fall of Napoli put the strongest place of the Apennines into the hands of the Greeks. They found in it 480 pieces of cannon, and a great store of arms. Thus, at the close of the first year of their struggle, the insurgents

saw themselves masters of the entire of the Morea, with the exception of the Acro-Corinth, Patrás, Coron, and Modon; of continental Greece, to the gulf of Arta, and the strait of Thermopylæ; of the Cyclades and Samos; while in Eubœa the Turks were shut up in the towns, and in Crete the Christians held the mountains, and a great part of the plain. And this was much about the time when the British ambassador to the Porte, was assuring the congress at Verona that the rebellion was extinguished; that Dramali was master of the Peloponnesus; that the capitan-pasha would shortly, with his invincible fleet, sweep the Archipelago of the pirates who infested it; that the heads of the insurrection were either brought over, or on the point of being so; that the treasures of Ali Pasha would restore all to tranquillity, and that too much importance had been attached to the insurrection.

After the surrender of Napoli, the Vizir Dramali attempted to pass a body of troops to Patrás. Nikitas, who commanded the Greek troops appointed to watch the army of the vizir, suffered these troops to traverse the plain of Sicyon; but when they reached the pass of Mavra Litharia, leading into Achæa, they found it guarded by 500 Greeks, and they lost a number of men equal to that of the enemy in forcing it. At the bridge over the rapid stream of the Crathis, the Turks fortified themselves by placing 400 men at the caravansary of Acrata. The Greeks, who moved along the heights, suffered them to proceed undisturbed along the valley of Zacoola, and the defile of

Kaki Scala; but when they had emerged from this last, the Greeks, coming down the defile of St Irene, took them in front, while a party, detached by Nikitas for that purpose, occupied the defile of Kaki Scala in their rear, which they had left unguarded. The Greeks now summoned the Moslems to surrender; they haughtily refused; a heavy fire was opened on them, and 600 men killed; 300 Albanians then laid down their arms; the Osmanlis still refused to yield, and every one of them was slain. The loss on the side of the Christians was greater than usual, 200 men being killed, and 300 wounded; that of the Turks, including the 400 men in the khan of Acrata, amounted to nearly 3000.*

Previous to the fall of Napoli, a bold attempt had been made to destroy the Turkish fleet, at anchor at the isle of Tenedos. On the 9th November, Canáris and Kyriacos got on board their fire-ships, and left Ipsara, in company with three brigs of war. The following day, they hoisted the Ottoman flag, and got round the isle of Tenedos, and at evening, being near the mouth of the harbour, they fled towards it, from before the three brigs, which affected to give them chase. Two Turkish frigates, which were sailing about, made a signal to them to follow them, and they all went together into the port. As it was now dark, they could not distinguish the admiral's ship, till she made herself known by discharging three guns, in answer to the signals of the frigates. Canáris immediately

* Pouqueville, iv. 239.

made for the place whence the sound proceeded, fastened his ship to that of the capitan-pasha, set fire to it, got into his boat, and fled ; Kyriacos set fire to another large ship. Of the multitude on board of the vessel of the capitan-pasha, but himself and thirty more escaped ; the ships, as they burnt, discharged their guns, to the injury of the other vessels. The garrison of the castle, thinking the Greek fleet had got into the harbour, pour a fire from their batteries on their own vessels ; these cut their cables, and endeavour to get out to sea. In the darkness and confusion, they drive against each other ; masts are broken, cordage torn away ; one vessel gets entangled in another ; all is hubbub, dismay, and disorder. When they had got clear of the port, a violent tempest came on. The ships ran foul of each other ; several went down ; two brigs went ashore on the coast of the Troas ; two frigates and a corvette, being deserted, it is unknown how or why, by their crews, drifted away to the isle of Paros. The brave commanders of the fire-ships, and their crews, only seventeen men in all, after having caused all this mischief, got safe on board the brigs which were waiting for them ; and, having contemplated the destruction, proceeded tranquilly home to Ipsara, where they were received with the usual marks of joy and congratulation. An English sloop-of-war, which accompanied his Britannic majesty's frigate the *Cambrian*, was the bearer to Hydra of the tidings of the success of Canaris.*

* Pouqueville.

When thanksgivings had been rendered to Heaven for the capture of Napoli, the senate issued from Hermione, as their powers were now on the point of expiring, a proclamation, which had been prepared some time before, for the election of new deputies to a general congress, and advising the people how to conduct themselves on this important occasion. This document the clergy were directed to read in all the churches.

During the winter, the Greek vessels kept the sea. Constantine, brother of Count Andrew Metaxas, went round the islands collecting the tribute formerly levied by the capitan-pasha; and all the isles of the Cyclades, with the exception of Santorin, against which it was found necessary to employ force, paid it cheerfully. Lycurgus Logothetis, who had escaped from prison, and recovered his authority in Samos, refused to pay it, and it was resolved to commit to the Ipsariotes the charge of punishing him and his abettors. These islanders had just at this time returned from two successful expeditions against Mytilene and the coast of Asia Minor, where they had made themselves masters of the magazines of the Turks, well stored with provisions.

Vocos Miowlis, having been unanimously re-elected navarch, by the admiralty of Hydra, for the ensuing year, was to have under his command a fleet of forty-eight Ipsariote, thirty-five Hydraote, and twelve Spetziote vessels, while forty Scampa-vias, (as they were called, from their lightness and swiftness,) of the isle of Casos, near Crete, were to keep, as they had

hitherto done, plying about the coasts of Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia. Sixteen light vessels were sent by the Hydraotes to keep up a communication with Suleiman, the pasha of Acre, who was in rebellion ; another division was sent to cruise off Cape Bon ; a second off Cape Guardia, to interrupt the vessels of the Barbary regencies.

CHAPTER VII.

Congress of Astró—Coalition of Odysseus and Negrís—Address to the People—The Greek Deputies are not admitted to Verona—Turkish Plan of the approaching Campaign—Success of the Greeks in Crete—Transactions in Western Greece—Defeat of the Turks in Eastern Greece.

THE little town of Astró was the place appointed for the meeting of the second congress of Greece. The nomination of deputies proceeded rapidly ; and when, in the middle of the month of March, their caiques (three-cornered-sailed boats) carried thither the deputies of the Cyclades, they found those of the Morea and the continent already assembled. But the sage rules laid down in the congress of Epidaurus had been most boldly departed from in the elections : the primates of the Morea had elected themselves ; the same had been done by the senators of Hydra, the captains of the continent, and the demogerontes (*elders of the people*) of the isles. It may, however, be asked, whom else could the people, if perfectly free, have selected to represent them ?

Every thing seemed to announce a stormy sitting. Each member was filled with the notion of his own importance, and more disposed to aim at overcoming his antagonist, than of attending to the public weal. The first sitting of the congress was held on the 18th April, in a garden, beneath the shelter of a grove of lemon-trees—a situation recommended not more by its picturesqueness and agreeableness, than by the want of a building large enough to contain the 300 deputies who composed the assembly. At break of day, the members took their seats, the post of temporary president being occupied by the oldest of the deputies present. Before the discussions commenced, each member took the following oath :—“ I swear, in the name of God, and of my country, to act with pure and unshaken patriotism, to labour after a cordial union, and to abjure every sentiment of personal interest in the debates which are about to take place.” They then proceeded to the election of a president and a secretary. Peter Mavromichális was selected to fill the former, Theodore Negrís to discharge the functions of the latter office.

The appearance presented by this legislative assembly of Hellas was, no doubt, striking and picturesque. There were to be seen there the Maniotes, with their long flowing hair, and wide trowsers gathered round their waist ; the primates of the Morea, wearing a sort of turban, and pelisses lined with fur ; the captains, in their Albanian costume ; Hypsilantis, in his European uniform ; the senators of Hydra displayed, in their looks and appearance, magisterial pride

and gravity; the nimble Ipsariotes moved lightly about; the soldiers, the peasants, the mariners, stood around, various in manners and in costume.

The first day was occupied in hearing reports on the finances, the army, and the jurisprudence of the state. A commission was appointed for revising the political code.

The greater part of the captains, seeing that the civilians were likely to have a preponderance in the assembly, formed a union among themselves to oppose them. To undermine the influence of the captains, it was proposed, on the other side, to pass a law, giving the government the power of conferring the rank of captain on such subaltern officers as had served their country during the preceding year. Odysseus, rising, spoke warmly against this law, pointing out its manifest object, and denouncing Negris as the author of it. It was, however, passed, after a protracted contest.

On the 12th, the commission, who had been appointed to examine the constitution, coming forward with a proposal of some alterations in it, Odysseus, as the report was being read, interrupted the reader: "Brother," said he, "among so many fine words, so many articles expressed in a language unintelligible to the people, you have forgotten the most essential point. The assembly of Epidaurus gave more power to the executive than to the senate. I ask you one simple question. Should the hands command the head? This executive has too long pressed upon us. We will have no more of these five pashas to attempt our lives with

impunity, and surround us with assassins even in our camps. I require, then, that the ephoria, appointed to revise our laws, should receive into it, as representatives of the army, the citizens Sophionópoolo, Agamemnon, and Spiliadés, otherwise I protest, in the name of all the soldiers of Greece, against every act of this congress." The assembly rose in great agitation.

Next day, Odysseus, on being taunted by Andrew Zaïmi and Anágnosto Délyani, collected his soldiers, and said to them, " Comrades, you are in want of every thing, while these vile cojabbashees are gorged with wealth. If you would have your misery relieved, second the efforts of your captains. We will then form a military government, and put the power into the hands of men capable of appreciating your services."

Meantime, Mavrocordátos was arrived at Astros : the primates, rejoiced at his presence, crowded around him, and Negrís found himself deserted ; he immediately formed the bold project of seeking a reconciliation with Odysseus, and though the latter had been heard to vow that he would not leave Astros till he had drunk his blood, he adopted the hardy resolution of going alone to visit that chief on the night of the 15th. When he entered his dwelling, the fierce captain laid his hand on his sword to chastise his temerity. Negrís endeavoured to soothe him by flattery ; attributed his former conduct towards him to the influence of circumstances ; represented the ample amends which he could now make him, and finally proposed a union between them. Odysseus, still dubious of him, demanded the cause of this sudden change, and objected to him

his friendship with Mavrocordátos. But Negris, frankly confessing that his real motive was interest, avowed his unqualified hatred of Mavrocordátos, and his determination to ruin him if ever it was in his power. At length, having succeeded in satisfying the ambitious chief that the proposed junction was for his interest also, a secret coalition was formed between them.

It was agreed between them, that Negris should combat Mavrocordátos in the assembly with all the resources of his ingenuity and eloquence, while Odysseus should exasperate the spirits of the soldiers and their chiefs against the primates. Accordingly, he began to go about, crying to his partisans, "Let us have a new constitution, and write it with the blood of our primates!" These, seeing their danger, sought to excite divisions among the captains. As Hypsilantis was on the side of these last, Papa Flechas offered him the presidency of the legislative body; but he declined it, saying, that he saw no safety for his country so long as the power was in the hands of the coja-bashees. Then, brave old Anagnostáras, taking Nikitas aside, began to preach in favour of the primates. "I won't listen to you," cried the simple captain, stopping his ears; "let me away. I know how to manage the sword much better than the tongue. You wish to deceive me, and if I stay here any longer, you will succeed." Colocotronis, however, let himself be gained by the arguments of Délyani. His desertion enfeebled the party of the opposition so much, that they were forced to restrict themselves to the reformation of the constitution.

The congress, urged by Odysseus and his party, passed the following decree :

“The second constituent Assembly of Greece, having adopted such changes and improvements as experience and the interest of the nation require, decrees—

“That the executive power shall not introduce any law, or make any innovation in the constitution, under any circumstances whatever.

“That the constitution, thus revised and ratified by common consent, shall be forthwith promulgated throughout the whole confederation.”

The primates now introduced a law for the sale of the national domains. They had arranged among themselves, like brokers at an auction, not to bid against one another, and they already grasped in thought the rich possessions of the Turkish agás in the plains of Argos, Corinth, and Elis. It is not unlikely that it was the prospect of sharing in the spoil, in which division he reckoned on coming off with a share resembling that of the lion, that induced Colocotronis to abandon so readily the military party. Negris, who had as much prospect, declaimed, like an ancient tribune, against the proposed law; and the soldiers, fixing it to a tree, fired volleys at it, declaring that such should be the fate of whoever took a single acre of land from his country.*

Towards the conclusion of its session, the congress abolished the provincial assemblies of the Peloponnesus and Eastern and Western

* The above particulars are only to be found in Soutzo, on whose authority, therefore, they rest.

Greece. The provinces were put under the direction of officers named exarchs. Candia was to have the harmost who had been already sent thither. The office of commander-in-chief for the Morea was conferred on Colocotronis; that for Ætolia and Acarnania, on Mark Botzaris; Odysseus, Goora, Panorias, and the two brothers Hyoldaches, were nominated strataarchs for Eastern Greece. Eubœa, like Crete, was left to its own gerusia. Peter Mavromichális was made president of the executive, George Condooriotis of Hydra, of the legislative branch of government. The office of secretary of state was conferred on A. Mavrocórdatos. It was finally determined that Tripolitza should be the seat of government, until, conformably to the decree of Epidaurus, it should be established at Athens; and the members of the government set out for the capital of the Peloponnesus after the congress had issued the following declaration to the people of Greece :—*

“ The third year of the war which we sustain in the cause of independence has now commenced. The enemy, vanquished as yet wherever he has shown himself, has gained nothing by all his efforts but humiliation and constant loss, while our victorious troops uphold the glory of our arms. The sound of them was reverberating under the walls of Constantinople, while the Hellenes were accomplishing at Epidaurus the act of their political independence. Ever since the government has been doing all in its power to consolidate our regeneration.

* Pouqueville.

“ After a lapse of sixteen months, a new national congress has been convened to Astros, and a scrupulous revision of our fundamental laws has formed the subject of its earliest deliberations. The Assembly has then directed its attention to the approximate state of the expenses of the year, and regulated every thing relating to the forces by sea and land. In accordance with the fundamental laws of Epidaurus, it places this day the power in the hands of delegates, on whom it impresses the great importance of their functions.

“ The congress, which is the legitimate organ of the nation which it represents, before separating, proclaims, for the second time, in the presence of God and man, the existence and political independence of the Greeks. Relying on their imprescriptible rights, they will continue the struggle in which they are engaged, with the firm intention of tearing from the usurper the inalienable prerogatives of which he has despoiled them by violence, combating for the sacred Christian religion, for the happiness of the nation to which they belong, for their absolute independence, resolved to die or to go down to the grave like Christians and freemen. Such is the task which the Greeks have imposed on themselves in order to arrive at an independence which is not the chimera of foreign suggestion, as some have represented it to be, but a sentiment, national, unanimous, and innate among them. The classic land which they inhabit, reminds them that liberty is their patrimony, and the recollections which it awakens, tell them every moment of the efforts of their forefathers,

and of the ever-memorable victories which they gained over the barbarians.

“ It was then necessary that, independently of the legislative toils which occupied them, the congress of the deputies of the people should again proclaim, in the presence of the entire world, that independence for which the Greek nation has taken arms. It is the simple expression of the will of all the inhabitants of Greece. Their object is, and will be, to establish in their country the civilisation which sheds its blessings over the enlightened nations of Europe, whose good opinion, and the aid which justice and religion claim on the part of the Hellenes, they now hope more than ever to obtain.

“ The congress is, moreover, charged by its constituents to thank, on their part, the naval and military forces, for the noble efforts by which they have sustained, with so much glory, for sixteen months, the sacred cause of their country. Of the innumerable hordes which crowded from the extremities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, already more than 90,000 have perished on the soil which they dared to pollute with their presence. Finally, the congress pass a vote of thanks to the Government and the Gerusias, which have now been dissolved, congratulating them on the services which they have rendered to their country.

“ The ongress, on concluding its session, invokes for the Hellenes the favour and the eternal grace of the living God of the Christians, whose religion they are defending against the enemies of his name.

" Given at Astros, the 18th (30th) April, 1823, in the third year of independence.

" PETER MAVROMICHALIS, President,

" THEODORET, Bishop of Bristhenes,
Vice-president.

" THEODORE NEGRIS, Secretary."

The congress of Astros, previous to its dissolution, had received dispatches from Count Metaxas, to inform it of the ill success of his mission to the congress of Verona. After their arrival at Ancona, the Greek deputies had lost no time in transmitting to the sovereigns, through their ministers, an abstract of the act of the Greek government, and a request to be permitted to proceed to Verona. Receiving no answer, and apprehending that their letters might have miscarried, they repeated their application, but with as little success. On the 16th November, they transmitted to the ministers a complete copy of the act of government, accompanied by a letter from themselves. Still they received no answer, and the government of Ancona notified to them that they had received orders not to give them passports for Verona.

The deputies had been furnished with an address from the provisional government to the assembled sovereigns, in which was set forth the justice of the Greek cause, the success of the Greek arms, and the impossibility of laying them down again without the independent existence of Greece being secured. This document, moreover, called on the Christian powers to assist them in their patriotic struggle, or at

least to maintain a strict neutrality; and it finally declared that the Greeks would acquiesce in no arrangement which should be made respecting them without their deputies being admitted, and heard before the congress. The deputies were also the bearers of letters addressed to the Emperor Alexander, and to the pope, the former complimentary, reminding the tsar of the favour which he had hitherto shown the Greeks, and entreating him to continue to manifest it; the latter written in a similar strain, and imploring the intercession of his holiness with the assembled sovereigns.

There were two circumstances unfavourable to the interests of the Greeks on this occasion. Their insurrection had coincided, in point of time, with the fruitless attempts at revolution in the two peninsulas. The Austrian government believed, or affected to believe, that it was an emanation of the same principle; and that the authors of the Greek revolution were members of the sect of the Carbonari, than which nothing was more unlikely, if the origin of the revolt, the character of the leaders, and the quarters from which they came, were considered. It, however, served the cabinet of Austria, whom apprehension of Russia has made enamoured of the Turks, and most anxious for the maintenance of this power, and whose hatred of liberty is inveterate, for a pretext to represent the Greek cause as glaringly opposed to the sacred principle of legitimacy; and Alexander was at that time so intimidated by the ideal terrors which the Austrian diplomacy conjured up around him, that, whatever might have been his

private sentiments and wishes, he shunned the very appearance of giving the slightest sanction to rebellion. The second circumstance to which we have alluded, was, that the British ambassador to the Porte, who had left Constantinople previous to the news of the defeat of the army of Dramali having reached the capital, had spoken according to the hopes and anticipations of the divan, and had represented the Greek cause as desperate.

The deputies at Ancona were now joined by the archbishop Germanos, and by George, son of Peter Mavromichális, who were come on a mission to the pope, a principal object of which, we are told,* was to propose the cession of one of the islands of the Archipelago to the ancient order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem,

* Jourdain, i. 167. We are not disposed to question the veracity of this estimable Philhellene ; but it certainly seems rather extraordinary that such a project should have originated with the Greeks. Is not this statement somewhat at variance with the following, at page 189 of Mr Jourdain's work ?—" I learned, on arriving at Paris, that the order of St John of Jerusalem—having no longer any hopes of regaining possession of the Isle of Malta, of which it had been despoiled by the ambitious policy of England—was thinking of re-establishing its flag in the Archipelago, and of asserting its rights over the Isle of Rhodes. Persuaded as I was of the immense advantages which an alliance with that illustrious order would hold out to Greece, I did not hesitate to make overtures to it for entering into a negotiation on that subject." It was certainly rather strange that the order and the Greek government should be thinking of the same thing just at the same time. We should be apt to suspect that the latter party never thought of such a thing at all, and that the idea came from the order to M. Jourdain.

who had made a fruitless application to the congress of Verona, for some place to be granted to them in sovereignty in lieu of Malta, or for aid to conquer a possession for themselves. The pope, however, was too much in the power, and under the influence, of Austria, to allow of any hopes being entertained of his exerting himself in favour of the Greeks, and the deputies made no attempt to approach him.

By a letter, dated March 1st, Count Metaxas empowered M. Jourdain to proceed to Paris, and endeavour to negotiate a loan in that city, as also to do whatever might appear to him to be for the advantage of Greece. The extraordinary treaty which this plenipotentiary entered into with the sovereign order of St John of Jerusalem, forms a curious episode in the history of the Greek war of independence; and in its due time and place, we shall give an account of it.

The plan of the divan for the ensuing campaign, was to attack all parts of Greece both by land and by sea. Moostaiï, pasha of Scodra, was to assemble 40,000 men drawn from Upper Albania and Macedonia, and advance into Thessaly, where another army was to be collected at Larissa, to march into Bœotia; and Omer Brionès and Resheed-pasha were to march their Albanians once more into Acarnania and Ætolia. The capitan-pasha was, meantime, to sail with a large fleet to victual the strong places in Eubœa, Crete, and the Peloponnesus; and his arrival at Patrás was to be the signal for the armies to march.*

* Pouqueville.

By the accounts which the Greeks got of the fleet of the capitan-pasha, it would amount to about 120 sail of ships of war : the navy which they had to oppose to it consisted of 88 sail, manned by 10,000 bold and experienced mariners, and carrying 1760 guns.

Emmanuel Tombasis, the harmost of Crete, having landed in the gulf of Cydonia, with 2000 Peloponnesians, immediately proposed a capitulation to the 1800 Turks who occupied the fort of Castelli, situated on Cape Spada, to the west of Canea. His offers were at once accepted : they agreed to give up the place to the Cretans, on condition of their being exchanged against the Greek families in Canea and Rhetymos. Tombasis required but four hostages ; and the Turks were forthwith embarked on board of some English vessels and some boats, to be conveyed to Canea.

The Turks of Selinos, 8000 in number, who had been long blockaded by the Christians, having concerted a plan of co-operation with those of Canea, resolved to take advantage of the circumstance of their besiegers being engaged in the labours of agriculture, and effect their retreat to that town. They accordingly set forth ; and their plan would have succeeded, had not the Turks of Canea wantonly set fire to a Greek village. The appearance of the flames called the attention of the Cretans ; joined by the soldiers of Tombasis, they poured from all sides on the Turks, who fled to Canea, leaving 2000 women and children in the hands of the victors. As the plague was in most of the places occupied by the Turks, having been

brought by the troops from Egypt, the Cretans had hitherto been in the habit of giving no quarter, and of burning the clothes and bodies of those who were slain ; but on this occasion, as there had been no plague in Selinos, they, at the desire of the harmost, consented to spare their prisoners, and to distribute them through the mountains.

On the 15th June, a part of the Ottoman fleet came in sight. The Turks of Canea, elated at its appearance, refused to liberate the Greek families ; and sent to offer a ransom for their four hostages. Their offers were refused with disdain. Having received a reinforcement of 300 gunners, they ventured to make a sally the next morning ; but they were driven back with considerable loss.

The Turkish fleet, which had thrown 800 men into Cárysto, victualled Negropont, and threatened Trikeri, having victualled Canea, Rhetimos, and Candia, proceeded to Patras, where the admiral, Khoreb-pasha, to his surprise, found no signs of the successes of the land forces which he had been led to anticipate. Two Algerine frigates, which he had left in the channel of Chios, joining him here, gave him a convincing proof of the activity of the Greek marine. The Ipsariotes had landed, and plundered the town of Sanderli and the surrounding country on the coast of Asia, and levied, on their return, a contribution on the isle of Mytilene ; the Ionians had plundered Kara-boornoo and Clazomenæ on the same coast.

Resheed-pasha having been appointed to a command in the army which was assembling in Thessaly, and Omer Briones not being in fa-



your, the command of the Albanian army, intended for the invasion of the Morea, was given to Yoosoof-pasha. Omer Briones, jealous of the favour shown to his rival, resolved to employ every means in his power to impede his movements. Yoosoof had succeeded in collecting about 8000 men at Vonitza ; and, as he knew how little the Albanians were to be relied on, he stationed 2000 Asiatic Osmanlis at the defiles, near Olpé, to prevent their desertion. A large quantity of provisions and forage was collected on the strand of Actium, waiting for the vessels which the capitan-pasha was to send to convey the troops to Patrás.

To make the army of Yoosoof disband, and thus to supplant that pasha in his post, was now what Omer proposed to himself. He knew that the Sheeptars were clamorous for the pay which was due to them, and that they would lay violent hands on the military chest of Yoosoof, if they had an opportunity of effecting a retreat into their own country. To remove this difficulty out of their way, he opened a communication with Mark Botzaris. That enterprising chief readily entered into an arrangement for their common advantage ; and he agreed, if Omer succeeded in exciting the Sheeptars to mutiny, to facilitate their retreat, by dislodging the Osmanlis who guarded the defiles. The emissaries of Omer Briones accordingly began to fan the flame of sedition in the camp of Yoosoof ; and on the night of the 7th May, Mark Botzaris fell suddenly on the Turks at Olpé, cut them to pieces, and dispersed them. On some of the fugitives arriving in some boats

at Vonitza, there rose a great tumult in the army; the Albanians loudly demanded their pay, and to be transported to Prevesa, or to the other side of the gulf, out of the reach of the insurgents of Acarnania. Yoosoof lavished promises, hoping in that way to compose them; but the night was hardly come, when a conflagration was seen in the distance, which proved to be the burning of the magazines at Actium, by Mark Botzaris. The Sheeptars flew to the tent of Yoosoof, killed his guards, murdered his treasurer, and seized his military chest. The ser-asker got into a boat and fled; his officers took refuge in the citadel; the soldiers spent the night in dividing the spoil. On the 11th, they set out for their native mountains; and Botzaris, faithful to his word, gave them no opposition. Omer Briones immediately sent to inform the capitan-pasha of this event, which he attributed entirely to the ignorance and unskilfulness of Yoosoof; and promised to re-organize the army more formidable than ever.*

Sultzios Gheorcha, one of the Turkish commanders in Thessaly, having observed that the Megaloolachite shepherds, who drive their flocks every summer to the mountains, were preparing to quit the plains of Thessaly for their usual summer haunts, seized them to the number of some thousands, with their flocks. Hoping to make similar prizes, he advanced along the valley of the Achelouïs; but he was so completely defeated near Clinovo, by the captains Stoornaris and Christos Tsavellas, that he brought but

* Pouquerville.

a very few of his men back with him to Tricala. Karaïskaki, another of the Greek captains, had meantime defeated a party of Turks, and ravaged Thessaly. Jellal-ed-deen-pasha, who commanded at Larissa, proposed a suspension of arms on the following advantageous terms, which were at once accepted: namely, to set at liberty the Vallack shepherds and their flocks, and suffer them to go to the mountains; and to acknowledge the authority of Stoor-naris and Karaïskaki, as independent military chiefs of the mountains of Thessaly, with power of aiding the Ætolians, whenever they pleased, provided they did not carry the war into Thessaly. The conduct of these chiefs, when known at Tripolitza, caused a good deal of indignation against them, for presuming, without the knowledge of the government, to make an armistice at the time when the enemy was collecting his forces in Thessaly; but the want of harmony which prevailed at that town, caused their behaviour to be passed over for the present.

The ser-asker, Selim-pasha, having assembled all his forces at Thaumaco in Thessaly, in the month of June, directed two pashas, with 15,000 men, to march for Thermopylæ; a corps of 10,000 men advanced towards Volo, to occupy Tricari; and a corps of 5000 Albanians moved in the direction of Tricala, to attack, in breach of the treaty, Stoor-naris and Karaïskaki.

The corps which advanced towards Thermopylæ were, on their arrival at that celebrated pass, stopped by 3000 Greeks. After a severe combat, the latter yielded to numbers, and retired, leaving the pass open. Odysseus, who was

at Athens, brooding over his discontent with the government, hearing of this conduct of his lieutenants, to whom he had committed the defence of the pass, collected what troops he had about him, and flew to oppose the enemy. Sending some of his troops to guard the defiles behind them, he attacked the Turks with the remainder; and, after a combat of several hours, victory declared for the Greeks. The Turks, cut off from Thessaly, directed their course towards the west, making for Delphi. Odysseus pursued them with 1000 men; and Panorias collecting the peasantry of the country around Delphi, the infidels were again repulsed. They then made for Salona, where, as had been previously arranged, they expected to find the fleet to transport them to the Morea. In all their movements, they were followed and harassed by the peasantry of Bœotia and Phocis; and, on their arrival at the sea-coast, they found the defiles between Sticos and St Luca occupied by Odysseus and Nikitas, who had come from the Morea. The Turks were defeated, with the loss of 2000 men, and all their baggage and artillery. After being driven from a variety of posts, they at last halted at Chæronea, where there was abundance of pasture for their horses; and here they intended waiting for relief from the pasha of Negropont. But, on the night of the 16th June, Odysseus fell on them in their sleep, killed 400 of them, and carried off 100 camels and 400 mules. The Turks, in their terror, divided themselves into two columns; one of which was met and defeated by Hervé Goora on the 20th, as it endeavoured to penetrate into Attica; and, as it fell back on

Bœotia, it was attacked by Nikitas, who killed its commander, the Vizir of Procóvitza, with his own hand. The loss of the Turks on this occasion was 1500 men; and, ten days afterwards, the remains of this corps were attacked and again defeated by Diamantis of Olympus.

The second column, of 6000 men, commanded by the ser-asker Selim, in person, was meantime tranquilly encamped at Calami, a village in the plain of Livadia, where his superiority in cavalry made the insurgents fear to attack him. But his magazines taking fire, 400 of his men were burned to death, the rest were dismayed; the peasantry came from all sides to assail them, and, leaving tents, baggage, artillery, and ammunition behind them, the Turks effected their retreat to Thessaly.

The corps which had marched against Tricari experienced a similar fate, being completely defeated by the captains Diamanti, Kara Tasso, and Burtehi; and the corps of Albanians was attacked by Stoornaris, in the defiles of Epirus, 800 of them slain, and the remainder pursued by the victors into the town of Tricala, a part of which they burnt. An attempt made by the capitan-pasha to throw some supplies of provisions into the Acro-Corinth, failed—the provisions all falling into the hands of the Greeks; and it was now evident that that important fortress, the only conquest of Dramali, must soon surrender.

CHAPTER VIII.

Divisions in the Government—Turkish Army assembled in Thessaly—Glorious death of Mark Botzaris—The Turks advance to Mesolonghi—are obliged to retire—Naval Engagement off Mount Athos—Surrender of the Acro-Corinth—Invasion of Eubœa—State of Greece at the end of the Year 1823.

BUT while the Greek arms were thus triumphant, their councils were distracted by faction. Colocotronis, who knew nothing, and cared nothing, about liberty, whose only ambition was to become the Ali Pasha of the Morea, and govern and oppress the people at his caprice, like their former vizirs, used every means in his power to embarrass the government; and, to soothe him in some sort, he was made vice-president of the executive. The president, Peter Mavromichális, accompanied by the secretary, A. Mavrocordátos, set out for Attica, to take the command there; and, while they were in the isle of Salamis, where the want of men and money had obliged them to stop, a quarrel breaking out at Tripolitza between two corps of Laconians and Arcadians, the governor of the town, who had been hitherto the commander of the former, quitted his post, and fled to Laconia; the vice-president of the legislative followed his example, and the president of that body laying down his office, Colocotronis remained without an opponent.

The senate resolved to elect a new president, and all the voices declared for A. Mavrocordátos;

but, on his nomination being notified to him, that cautious statesman declined the honour, intimating how necessary it was, in the present state of things, to avoid irritating the captains, who were, in general, inimical to him. His reasons did not satisfy the senate; he was menaced with being declared a rebel, in case of his still refusing to comply with their will, and they summoned him to Tripolitza. To the orders of the senate he yielded a prompt obedience; and, when there, he, on the 26th July, addressed them a letter, stating anew the impolicy of conferring the presidency upon him, and begging to be permitted to lay down his dignity. His reasons were now listened to, and he retired from the presidency of the senate.

The resignation of Mavrocordátos having caused a momentary tranquillity, advantage was taken of it to attempt some operations against Coron and Modon; and the garrison of one of these places were driven back with loss, in one of the excursions which they made into the country in search of provisions. But it was not in the power of the Greeks to prevent their being supplied by sea; and vessels under the Austrian and the Anglo-Ionian flags carried provisions continually to these places and Patrás—the love of gain outweighing all generous feelings (if such ever existed) in the bosom of their owners.

The animosity of the party of Colocotronis against Mavrocordátos still continuing, he resolved to retire to Hydra; and he recommended the senate to remove their sittings to the isle of Salamis, where they would be less exposed to the arrogance and insolence of the captains. At

Hydra, he used all his influence with the admiralty to engage them to send a fleet to the relief of Mesolonghi, which was now justly regarded as one of the bulwarks of the Morea; and exertions were made to get ready a squadron for that purpose.

Meantime, another storm was collected in Thessaly. Moostai-pasha of Scodra had entered that province with a large army of Albanians, and was preparing to make an inroad into Western Greece, intending to besiege Mesolonghi by land, while the Algerine squadron, left for that purpose by the capitan-pasha, should blockade it by sea, and, when that town was carried, to transport his troops into the Peloponnesus.

At the news of the approach of the pasha of Scodra, the people of Eubœa sought refuge in the adjacent isles; the Hydraote squadron, which was blockading Carysto, set sail for home; Odysseus retired to Mount Parnassus; Tasso and Diamanti to Mount Pelion; Goora fell back to Athens; a part of the people of Bœotia, Attica, and Megaris, passed over, as usual, to Salamis, where Peter Mavromichális and some of the members of the government were residing. The number of people crowded into this little island was so great, that it was with difficulty any shelter against the weather could be procured by a great portion of them; and the government was obliged, before it could direct its attention to the means of opposing the enemy, to make provision for discharging a part of this excessive population on Egina, Calauria, and Epidaurus. This being effected, measures were taken for strengthening Athens, and secu-

ring the derbend of the isthmus, in case of the enemy attempting to force his way into the Morea on this side; and John Coletti was sent as exarch of Eubœa, in order to make a diversion in that quarter.

Moostai-pasha, though a young man, was extremely prudent and judicious in his conduct; and to this he joined a winning affability of manner. He was resolved, in the conduct of the war committed to him, to try the effect of mild measures rather than force. He therefore renewed the treaty made by the pasha of Larissa with Stoornaris and Karaïskaki; he forgave the taxes, and granted amnesty and protection to such villages as were inclined to return to obedience; and, as a proof of his determination to maintain justice, he hanged one of his beys and his men for pillaging a Greek village. Several of the villages of Agrapha, in consequence, laid down their arms; and many of the armatoles entered his service, preferring it to that of their own harsh and covetous chiefs.

Emboldened by the success which had as yet attended his measures, Moostai summoned the captains of Agrapha to join his army, and on their refusal, he called on them to deliver up their arms. As might be expected, they refused obedience; and the vizir immediately, before they had time to organize resistance, poured his Georgians on the valley of the Acheloüs, burning the villages, and massacring or making slaves of the peasants. He fixed his headquarters at Nevrópolis, in the mountains of Agrapha, near Phanari, the capital of the district; and he sent Safer-pasha and Jellat-ed-deen-bey to seize

the defiles of Kallidromos ; Hago Bessiaris was directed to proceed to Rendina in the valley of the Evenus ; and Vrachori was named as the general rendezvous. The army of the ser-asker, Moostaï, now amounted to upwards of 20,000 men ; his 15,000 Georgians having been joined by 7000 Albanians, and a crowd of Turks from the villages about the Haliacmon.

When an account of the movements of the Turks reached Mark Botzaris, the Strategos of Western Greece, he saw that it was only by some decisive effort that the progress of the torrent could be checked ; and he resolved, if needful, to immolate himself for his country. He accordingly set out, and, on the 19th August, he arrived at the gorges of Mount Kallidromos, with 450 Sooliotes, and 300 men of Mount Aracynthus. The Ætolian captains, Macrys and Zongos, had collected about 1600 men, with whom they harassed the flanks of the enemy ; and Stoornaris covered the bridge of Tatareina, on the way to Vrachori, with 350 men. Botzaris, having joined the 300 Ætolians who were with him to those of Zongos and Macrys, directed them to forbear making any attack on the enemy during the following night, and to remain in the posts which he assigned them till they received a signal from him.

Mark Botzaris resolved to attack with his Sooliotes, on the night of the 20th, the advance-guard of the enemy, consisting of 8000 men. According to ancient custom, after taking their repast, they bathed themselves in the neighbouring stream, and arrayed themselves in their best clothes, and then assembled to hear the words

of their commander. Botzaris addressed them, stating the strength of the enemy, the manner in which they were now situated, and the disgrace of a retreat. He told them, that it was his intention, that night, to enter the camp of the infidels, and, with the sword and the poniard, to kill as many of them as it would be possible. None, he added, but those who acted of their own free-will, should share in the glorious enterprise; and he called on them to weigh well the danger ere they decided how they would act.

As soon as he had concluded, 240 men left the ranks, crying, that they would march that night with him, relying on the aid of Divine Providence. Botzaris blessed them, and then looking at those who had kept silence, rejected their tardy offer to accompany him, saying, that each had his place assigned by Heaven, and telling them that he relied upon them, as a bulwark, to cover their retreat, and that he confided to their care the standard of the cross, till his brother Constantine should come up.

The army of the Turks was at Carponitza, distant about a league and a half. Mark Botzaris, having made all his arrangements, set out at ten at night; and, at midnight, he and his 240 men surprised the advance-guard of the enemy. In an hour, 500 of the infidels were slain; he then began to fall back on his reserve, which had followed him at a convenient distance. The confusion and terror caused by the attack of the Sooliotes, made the different corps of the Albanians suspect each other of treachery; and they began to fire on one another. Botzaris, re-assembling his men, advanced once more; he sent

orders to the Greeks who were in ambush to advance to attack the Turks; and, turning his steps toward another part of the camp, he cried out in Albanian, "Where are the pashas? The Greeks are attacking the advance posts." Disposing his men, so as they could fire on both the Scodians and the Epirotes, he still went on, calling out, "Where are the pashas?" Reaching the tent of Hago Bessiaris, he entered it, and, seizing him by the beard, plunged his poniard in his bosom; he made Safer-pasha prisoner, gave him into the care of his palicares, with directions to kill him if he uttered a word. Spreading terror and death as he advanced, Mark Botzaris still directed his course towards the quarters of the ser-asker, when a ball struck him in the loins; the wound was but slight, and he concealed the knowledge of it from his men. The Turks making a general discharge in the direction in which he was, another ball struck him on the head, and he fell senseless.

The first beams of day were now appearing; the Sooliotes take up the body of their leader, and retire; the troops of Zongos, Karaïskaki, and the other captains, descend from the hills, and fall on the Turks, who abandon their camp and the bodies of 1800 men. Having spoiled the camp of the enemy, the Greeks commence their retreat for Mesolonghi, bearing their expiring chief on a litter. No one ventured to address him till his brother Constantine, who had been hitherto ignorant of what had occurred, came up. As he and the principal officers of the army stood about the bier, the hero stretched forth his hand, and, in a trembling

voice, he said to them, " My brethren, I have paid my debt to my country, and I die content ; I commend my children to your regard, and to the care of the nation. Be faithful to your country, and faithful servants of God. Leave me, and hasten to complete what I have begun."

The chiefs melted into tears ; but Constantine Botzaris, drawing his sword, cried, " Brethren, why stand lamenting ? It is by avenging him that we must honour our brave comrade, by sacrificing to him hecatombs of the Mohammedans, or by dying, like him, for our country !" All caught fire at his words ; and, running against a body of Turks, who were advancing, put them to flight with great slaughter. That evening the hero was borne to a strongly situated village ; and, next morning, they proceeded towards Mesolonghi. On reaching the fountain of Kephalo-Vrysson, Mark Botzaris addressed them for the last time, and expired.

As the mournful procession drew near to Mesolonghi, the exarch, Constantine Metaxas, and all the principal citizens, came forth to meet it. Turkish prisoners, richly caparisoned horses, and standards captured from the enemy, preceded the bier on which the remains of Mark Botzaris were borne by six of his bravest Sooliotes. Over him was spread his blue mantle ; at his side lay his sword. This was followed by a train of 8000 sheep, and a long string of mules laden with 3200 muskets, 700 pair of pistols, tents, ammunition, &c., the spoil of the night in which the hero of Sooli had fallen.

The body was set down in the house of the exarch ; and the mourning women came, and, *arranging themselves around it, sung the my-*

rialloues of the deceased. Next morning, arrayed in his best habiliments, with his face uncovered, he was borne to the church in a coffin adorned with cypress. As the funeral passed along the streets, the women flung flowers and perfumed waters on the body of the hero. When the office for the dead was celebrated, the soldiers advanced to give their captain the last kiss ; all present followed their example, saying, " Farewell, Botzaris ; may the earth be light on thee !" His body was laid in the grave ; a few drops of holy oil were let fall upon it ; and the tomb was closed over Mark Botzaris, the Eagle of Sooli, as his compatriots proudly and fondly styled him.

Greece experienced a real loss in Mark Botzaris ; his noble and disinterested patriotism, equal to any thing that ancient Hellas could present, stood in splendid contrast with the selfishness and cupidity of Colocotronis, and the greater part of the other chiefs of the Morea and the continent ; and he united to the virtues of a citizen, those of the husband and father of a family. Writers love to compare him with the hero of Thermopylæ, and style him the modern Leonidas, from a resemblance between his fall and that of the Spartan king, who, according to the apocryphal account of the later Greek writers, fell at the tent of Xerxes in a nocturnal attack on the Persian camp. The comparison does not, however, hold good : Leonidas sacrificed himself and his men to little purpose, in obedience to the Spartan point of honour. Botzaris perished in an attempt which was of real utility to his country, and from which, though hazardous, he was not without hopes of returning safe and victorious.

“ Mark Botzaris was of low stature, light and active ; his features were regular, his countenance open ; a pleasing paleness, joined to a melancholy air, gave his face an interesting expression. He spoke little, and thought much ; he united the highest capacity with the most agreeable modesty, the most rigid justice with the utmost mildness. Staid and regular in his conduct during peace, he was fiery and impetuous in war ; exposing himself the first to danger, never taking any share in the booty, not suffering his companions in arms to commit any violence, he was at once the idol of the people and of the soldiers. The love of his country was his ruling passion ; sacrificing the happiness of his family to the interest of his native land, he devoted the whole of his patrimony to the support of his army, never hesitated to shed his blood for Greece, and left his children in indigence. He lived like Aristides ; he died like Leonidas.”*

The Turks, guided by some traitorous Greeks, fell on and dispersed the troops of Zongos and Macrys at Mount Amphryssus, on the 7th September, and on the 10th the ser-asker fixed his head-quarters at Vrachori, where he was joined by Omer Briones and 6000 Albanians, as also by the traitor Varnikiotis, and some armatoles. The combined army then crossed Mount Zygos, and spread itself along the coast from Anatolico to Mesolonghi, which places were now so closely watched by the Algerine squadron, that they could receive no supplies by sea ; and as a great part of the population of the surrounding coun-

* Soutzo, p. 300. From whom and Pouqueville, the greater part of the preceding details have been derived.

try had sought refuge in them from before the Turks, there was every prospect of famine soon commencing its ravages.

A gale of wind having driven off the Algerine fleet, the Greeks took advantage of this circumstance to introduce some boats with supplies into Mesolonghi. The ser-asker thence perceiving that, unless he could completely shut up that town on all sides, he would have little chance of reducing it by blockade—for the strength of its fortifications at this time precluded all thoughts of storming it—resolved to get possession, if possible, of Anatolico, which would enable him to make himself master of the fishing banks before Mesolonghi. He accordingly erected batteries, and cannonaded that town with shells and shot for three weeks. The place, though its inhabitants did not exceed 1500 in number, was gallantly defended. Constantine Botzaris, who had succeeded his brother, harassed the enemy by sorties from Mesolonghi; the Greek population of Ætolia incessantly assailed the convoys and foraging parties of the Turks; heavy rains came on with the month of November; fevers and other maladies spread through the camp; and at last the plague, communicated by the Algerines, commenced its devastating career. On the 29th November, the Turkish army, leaving a great part of its artillery and baggage, commenced its retreat for Epirus, spreading, as usual, devastation over the country. Its retreat was unimpeded; and Moostai-pasha arrived, after a tedious march, with his enfeebled forces, at Jannina. About the same time, a Greek squadron appeared off the coast of Ætolia, and A. Mavrocordatos landed from it at Mesolonghi.

Such was the result of the second invasion of Ætolia by the armies of the sultan. In Eastern Greece and at sea fortune also favoured the cause of freedom.

The capitan-pasha, on leaving the bay of Patrás, had directed his course to Lemnos. A Greek fleet of eleven sail, under the command of the navarch Miowlis, which was cruising in that direction, was assailed by a storm, on the night of the 26th September, and dispersed. At break of day next morning, the Turkish fleet of thirty-threesail, seventeen of which were three-masters, came in view, and prepared to attack. The Greek admiral made a signal for his ships to re-assemble, and prepare for action; and he manœuvred to get clear of Mount Athos. Before they had time to get ready, the enemy was upon them, and, at ten o'clock, the ships of the admiral, of the captains Sactooris, Scoorti, Kalóphatos, and the fire-ship commanded by Robózzi, were engaged with four Turkish frigates and two corvettes; while the other Greek vessels were lying becalmed at a great distance. At half past ten, the largest of the frigates bore down upon captain Scoorti, who kept up so well-sustained a fire, that he forced her to retreat. She soon, however, returned to the charge, accompanied by another frigate; and Scoorti was now placed between two fires. Captain Robózzi, seeing his danger, advanced with his fire-ship; and setting fire to it, obliged the frigates to make off. Himself and his men got on board of the ship of Kalóphatos. Several of Scoorti's men had been wounded, but none were killed. All this while the admiral and the captains Sactooris and Kalóphatos were lying becalmed under Mount Athos,

at a short distance from Scoorti, unable to stir to his relief. At a quarter to eleven, a light breeze sprung up, and a combat commenced between these three ships and three Turkish frigates and a brig. The action was maintained with obstinacy on both sides till two in the afternoon, when the entire Turkish fleet, favoured by the wind, surrounded the Greeks; the latter, however, forced their line, and joined the seven vessels which want of wind had kept from sharing in the action. The four Greek brigs had suffered greatly by the fire of the enemy. Before night, the whole of the Greek fleet was collected at Lemnos; and it was resolved to attack the enemy in the morning. When morning, however, came, no enemy was in view; the Turks had fled during the night; and the Greeks, having sought in vain about Chios and Mitylene, and being unable even to obtain any information respecting the course which they had taken, resolved to return to port to repair their ships.*

During the time that Moostaï-pasha was in Ætolia, the garrison of the Acro-Corinth, having no hopes of supplies, after the failure of the capitán-pasha in his attempt to relieve them, capitulated on condition of being sent to Asia. The terms of the capitulation were honourably fulfilled by the Greeks; and that important fortress again became theirs. The Turkish garrison having proposed to surrender to Staïcos, who commanded the blockading party, he had immediately notified it to the government, who gave him full powers to treat. Colocotronis, and one or two other chiefs, snuffing the smell of booty,

* Jourdain.

instantly hastened to the spot. The Turks, on hearing of their arrival, calling to mind the siege of Tripolitzá, sent out a flag of truce to say that they would open the gates to no one but Staïcos, and George Kitzos the Epirote. This last chief was sent for, and Colocotronis and his friends were forced to retire with shame and mortification.*

It having been resolved to make an effort for reducing the Turkish fortresses in Eubœa, by making an attack on several points at the same time, Odysseus landed, on the night of the 7th December, before Carystos, and surprised the Turks, who were scattered about the country, unsuspecting of any attack. The pasha, and those who escaped the swords of the Greeks, shut themselves up in the castle. As they had no provisions, they soon began to suffer from hunger; and the pasha, leaving the place in disguise, repaired to the vizir, who commanded at Erythreum, to ask for aid. His request was granted, but the troops which he was leading back were met and defeated by Odysseus and Tasso, who had just entered the island.

The second year of the war thus concluded highly to the advantage of the Greeks. The Turks held no places in the Morea but Patrás, Coron, and Modon; they still retained a few places in Eubœa, and the principal towns in Crete; the islands were all emancipated from their yoke. Greece, to the straits of Thermopylæ, was in the hands of the Christians; and but for the vile avarice of the European merchants of Zante, Smyrna, and Constantinople,

* *Blaquiere, The Greek Revolution, p. 278.*

in whom the love of gain had smothered all generous feeling, and led them to supply the besieged places with provisions, the end of the year 1823 had probably not beheld a single Turk at liberty in the whole of Greece.

CHAPTER IX.

Plan of the Emperor Alexander for the settlement of Greece—Treaty of Alliance between the Greeks and the Knights of Malta—its termination—Proceedings in England—Captain Blaquiere and Colonel Stanhope proceed to Greece.

It is time now that we should turn our regards to what had been passing this year in Europe with respect to the Greeks.

Though the Greek deputies were so haughtily refused admittance to the congress of Verona, and the Emperor Alexander, who they thought would be their friend, had renounced all connexion with them, the affairs of Greece had begun to occupy his attention, and he pressed it upon the allies, with a view to their adjustment. The determination to which the congress came was, that whenever the Greek question came to be discussed, it should be treated as one relating to the whole alliance, and not to Russia alone; and it was made a point, that no independent existence should be demanded for the Greek nation. The continued successes of the Greeks, and their establishment of what might be deemed a regular government, impressed upon the mind of the Russian monarch the necessity of some interference on the part of the

European powers, and in the winter of this year (1823), he made to the powers proposals of attempting to bring about an accommodation between the Porte and the Greeks. In the memorial transmitted by him to the allied cabinets, he urged the necessity there was for the pacification of Greece, where he says the struggle was far from being terminated, from considerations affecting the interests of all the European powers equally with those of Russia. The same motives which had urged their interference in Spain, Piedmont, and Naples, namely, the suppression of the revolutionary spirit, called upon them, he thought, to interfere in the present case, lest Greece should become a sort of focus of insurrection to nourish the flame which would thence spread to other countries. It farther, he thought, behoved them to remove from themselves the reproach of placing Christians again under the yoke of infidels and barbarians.

Supposing, then, that the sultan would never consent to acknowledge the total independence of the Greeks, and that the Greeks would never submit to the yoke which they had flung off, the emperor, anxious moreover to avoid shocking the principles of the Holy Alliance, proposed the following plan of adjustment, namely, that, taking Valachia and Moldavia as models, Greece should be divided into three principalities, one composed of Western Greece and Epirus, the other of Thessaly and Eastern Greece, the third of the Morea and Candia; the islands to remain as they had always been. The Porte to preserve its sovereignty over all *these states*, and to receive tribute from them,

but not to have the right of sending pashas to them. The trade of the Greeks to be entirely free, and under their own flag. The patriarch to represent them at the Porte, and to enjoy, for that purpose, all the rights of a foreign ambassador. The Turkish dominion to be maintained, as far as was necessary, by the establishment of garrisons in certain places within certain limits, beyond which they were not to pass.*

These proposals of the Russian autocrat were displeasing to all parties, and consequently remained without effect. Equally ineffective was the alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded in Paris by M. Jourdain on the part of the Greek nation, with the Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem. As this is one of the most ludicrously absurd negotiations related in history, it would be unpardonable in us to pass it over, however unimportant, in total silence.†

Persuaded, as he says, of the *immense* advantages which would result to Greece from an alliance with this illustrious body, M. Jourdain entered into communication with M. Raoul, the advocate and counsellor of the order, who informed the commission of the order of his proposals of putting them in possession of some island or other. This august body did him the honour of admitting him on the 7th of June to one of their sittings, when, his powers being examined, and found regular and sufficient,

* See the valuable article on "The Greek Revolution and European Diplomacy," in the Ninth Number of the Foreign Quarterly Review.

† The whole of this curious affair is detailed at great length by M. Jourdain, in his first volume, from p. 180 to the end.

they entered on the negotiation, and, a few days afterwards, a provisional treaty was concluded.

The baillies, grand priors, and commanders, attorneys-general of the different congresses composing the Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem, present in capitular assembly, and representing the provincial chapters, and the grand priors, solemnly, in the name of the most Holy Trinity, and for the glory of religion, accepted the proposed alliance with the Greek nation, which would enable it to resume the career of warfare against the infidels, in which it had distinguished itself during eight centuries.

The high contracting powers having nominated their plenipotentiaries, namely, on the part of the Sovereign Order, the Marquis Nicholas Gabriel de Marcieu, marshal of the camps and armies of his most Christian Majesty the King of France, and Joseph Nicholas, Marquis de la Porte, marshal of the camps and armies of his most Christian Majesty the King of France; and on that of the Greek government, Colonel Jourdain; and these plenipotentiaries having exchanged their powers, a treaty, containing twenty-four articles, was agreed on.

By this treaty the sovereign order recognises the independence of the Greek nation, and concludes with it an offensive and defensive alliance. Each party guarantees to the other the integrity of its present possessions, as well as those which it may afterwards acquire, and the order renounces all rights and pretensions which it may have over any parts of Greece. The Greek government on its side guarantees the order full sovereignty over the isles of Rhodes, Scarpento, and Stampalia, and their dependencies, in pos-

session of which it engages to put the order without delay, giving it meanwhile the isles of Sapienza and Cabresa, on the west coast of the Morea, where the knights are to fix the chief seat of the order till they have conquered Rhodes; and to leave at the disposal of the knights a force, both naval and military, sufficient to defend it until they shall have organized their own troops; these Greek troops to be in the pay, and under the command, of the order, and to be withdrawn whenever the order requires it. The sovereign order, farther to assist the noble efforts of the Greeks, engages to open a loan to the amount of 10,000,000 francs for the common interests of the alliance, of which four millions are to be furnished to the Greeks by way of subsidy, and the remainder employed in establishing the order in Rhodes, Syra, and other islands; the lenders of this money to be secured by mortgage on Rhodes, and the other islands belonging to the order, who are to undertake the charge of repaying it. This part, however, to be kept a profound secret, and the loan to be negotiated ostensibly on account of the Greek government. The portion allotted to the Greek government to be issued to it in equal portions, the first million on the sailing of the Greek expedition for the conquest of Rhodes and Scarpento; the second, three months after the landing of the troops in these islands; the third, three months after, provided the military operations were not suspended; the fourth, three months after the complete reduction of the isles; but in case the delivery of these islands to the order should be effected immediately, the issues to be made at intervals

of two months, to commence from the period of the order entering into possession.

These, and some other less important articles, were agreed on by the plenipotentiaries, and accepted and ratified by the great officers of the order assembled at Paris, in the palace of the grand priory of Auvergne, on the 18th July, 1823.

As the powers with which M. Jourdain was invested did not entitle him to make a definitive treaty, the sovereign order resolved to send with him to Greece, as their plenipotentiary, the Chevalier Chastelain, Secretary of the Chancery for Spain and Portugal, and vice-lieutenant of the chancellor, furnished with two blank treaties, signed by "all the members of the venerable commission," and with brevets of knighthood for the members of the Greek government. As the secret instructions of this member reveal the roguery of the sovereign order, we shall notice some of them.

M. Chastelain was to lose no opportunity of impressing on the minds of the Greeks the immense advantages which would accrue to them from this alliance, and the high honour done them thereby, at a time when they were not looked upon as an independent nation. This he was to do, in order to be as frugal as possible in the matter of subsidies; for he was to recollect that the treasury of the order was empty, that Greece could not purchase the alliance too dear, that, moreover, it might be very difficult for the order to grant subsidies, as the very first elements of power, namely, money, knights, officers, soldiers, sailors, guns, ammunition, &c. &c. were wanting to it; and if the

loan could not be effected, it would be utterly impossible for them to give any money to the Greeks. Moreover, it was not for them, in their present condition, to purchase any place, and still less the alliance of the Greeks; whom he was, rather adroitly, to make long for the alliance, and then elude the money question as much as possible, at least to be exceedingly difficult on that head.

He was to take especial care not to compromise the order, in any way, with any of the powers; above all, not to let it be supposed that France encouraged, even tacitly, the cause of the Greeks. But as France may, when the affairs of Spain are settled, turn her attention to the east of Europe; and as war is likely to break out between Russia and the Porte, in which case Greece will have the support of some of the European powers, the present is the time for the order to drive its bargain, while the Greeks are left to themselves. He was therefore to use all possible dispatch in bringing matters to a conclusion.

The great object of the order being to have some place of its own, in which case it will have no necessity for a loan, as France, Belgium, and Sardinia, had engaged to satisfy its demands upon them; the moment its standard was hoisted on some island, or even on a rock, the Chevalier Chastelain was to urge the cession of the isles of Sapienza, and to impress on the Greeks the great advantages which would result to them from the dépôts of the order being established in these isles. He was, moreover, to write home an exact and minute account of these isles, their extent, soil, productions, &c. &c. He was,

in like manner, to inform himself of every thing concerning the island of Syra, and to make the Greeks believe, that, in ceding it, they were losing nothing, as they derived no advantage from its inhabitants, who were Catholics ; while, in the hands of the order, it might become the bulwark of Greece.

The Chevalier was to avoid all occasion of dispute ; and when he could not answer objections, he was to pass to some subject which was flattering to the Greeks, but still to maintain the dignity of the order. He was to follow exactly the counsels of M. Jourdain, with whom he was to arrange beforehand the questions he was to ask, and the answers he was to give ; but he was to maintain no intimacy with him in public. He was to consider well what he said, and to weigh every word ; in any note which he wrote, to give himself the air of being extremely clear and concise, but to generalize when necessary, to avoid injuring the interests of the order.

“ The Greeks,” it goes on, “ are acute, witty, false, and faithless ; you shall, for this reason, be laconic, and give yourself the air of being sincere, full of good-nature, and quite free from finesse.”

He was to take great care to point out to the Greeks the necessity of abstaining from every thing which might tend to prejudice their cause in the eyes of statesmen, such as declamations and imprudent articles inserted in the public journals of Europe. He was to make them feel the necessity of indemnification to the order for the rights over the Morea and Negripont, which *it had never ceded* ; and this in accordance with

the principle of legitimacy, on which the politics of Europe, at the present day, are based, and which Greece ought openly to adopt and respect. By carrying this point, the order will yield an implicit homage to the principle of legitimacy, and gain the confidence of the sovereigns.

The names and situation of the isles ceded to the order were to be clearly specified; and the Greeks were to be made to understand that they belonged of right to the order, but that it would guarantee the use of their laws, usages, and religion, to the inhabitants, and protect them, free of all expense. The order designed to assist the Greeks effectually; and its bankers had been directed to open a loan in their favour, but that they must send a deputy, with full powers to conclude the matter definitively, and to mark out what should be mortgaged for its repayment.

As no one knew what might happen in Greece, or what the views of the Greeks might be, the Chevalier Chastelain was directed to keep his eyes on the islands of the Archipelago, and mark out which might suit the order best, in case of an opportunity of acquiring it presenting itself; and his instructions contained a tolerably detailed account of each, and its advantages. He was always, however, to talk of Rhodes; but it would be much better to get some of the islands which were already in the hands of the Greeks, as it might not be easy to get Rhodes out of the hands of the Turks; and the order might find it extremely difficult to come forward, even as an auxiliary, unprovided as it was with all the requisites.

For the defraying of his expenses, M. de

Chastelain was to look to the brevets of knight-hood which he took out with him ; the price of admission into the sovereign order being 500 Venetian sequins, of which he was to retain fifty for himself, and very minute directions were given as to the mode of remitting the remainder to Madame de La Porterie de St Coüat, at Marseilles.

So far, all went on smoothly. M. Jourdain and the Chevalier Chastelain set out for Greece. Several vain young men were dazzled by the pompous language used by M. de Chastelain at Syra, where he took up his abode, and were anxious to be associated to the illustrious order ; but when they found that proofs of nobility, and above all, 500 gold sequins, were requisite for arriving at that honour, they drew back, and renounced their ambition.

Paris not being the place for negotiating the loan, the "venerable commission" turned their eyes towards the El Dorado of Europe, and the business was set in train there, five per cent, payable half yearly, without any deduction, being offered, and undeniable security proposed. The monied ones were beginning to nibble, and matters looked well, when the venerable commission, elate with hope, and anxious to secure all the advantages to themselves, dispatched their own agent to London, and published the treaty concluded with the Greeks. The whole shoal instantly fled in a panic from the bait, when they found that it was with the sovereign and illustrious order, and not the Greek rebels, that they had to do. Disappointed in their hopes, the commission hastened to disavow M. de Chastelain, and thus ended the solemn juggle.

The mission of M. Looriôtis to England was more successful than that of M. Jourdain to Paris. Some voluntary associations, especially by the Quakers, those true and consistent friends of liberty, had been already formed in this country for the purpose of alleviating the evils caused by the barbarity of the Turks. Several of those who felt interested in the cause of the Greeks, or who loved to be bustling and prominent, now formed themselves into a committee, and an appeal was made to the nation in behalf of the Greek people. But such active exertions had been made by the consular agents in the Levant, and by others from whom more generous sentiments might justly have been expected, to malign the Greeks, and represent them as ferocious savages and ungrateful rebels; and the idea was so generally diffused that their emancipation would be injurious to the commercial interests of England, that little sympathy was excited in their behalf. M. Looriotis, probably entertaining but faint hopes of his country being aided in her struggle, was anxious to return home; and Captain Edward Blaquiere proposing to the committee to visit Greece as their agent, to learn the real state of things there, they left London in company on the 4th March, reached Greece on the last day of the following month, and proceeded to Tripolitzá, where the members of the government appointed at Astros were just arrived. After an abode of some months in Greece, Captain Blaquiere returned to England, and on the 13th September made a very flattering report to the committee of the condition of the country which he had left; he dwelt, as was just, on the valour

displayed by the Greeks ; he extolled the wisdom of their deliberative assemblies, the decisions of their councils ; the cupidity and selfishness of their captains and primates seem to have eluded his view. In an additional paper Mr Blaquiere showed the state of the Greek army, and impressed on the committee the necessity of sending, besides money, military stores and arms.

Committees were this year established in Germany and Switzerland in aid of the Greek cause, and altogether the prospect was rather cheering.

After the return of Captain Blaquiere, the Honourable Colonel Leicester Stanhope proceeded to Greece as his successor ; and after visiting the committees of Germany and Switzerland, he reached Mesolonghi on the 12th of December, his head full of Bibles, newspapers, post-offices, Benthamian legislation, and Lancasterian schools ; and his soul sickening at the idea entertained by the most sensible Greeks of establishing the monarchical form of government, as the only security against the intriguing primates, and the greedy and turbulent captains. The anxiety, zeal, and activity, of the gallant colonel are deserving of every praise ; the schemes of himself and his utilitarian friends for establishing posts, schools, &c. in Greece in its state at that time, will only provoke a smile at human enthusiasm or folly.*

* For a full account of all the colonel's operations in Greece, see his " Greece in 1823 and 1824."

CHAPTER X.

Dissension between the Senate and Executive—Arrival of Lord Byron at Mesolonghi—His Death—Loan effected in England—Civil War breaks out—Napoli blockaded—Congress of Salona—Engagements at Argos and its neighbourhood—Defeat of the Rebels—Death of Sir Thomas Maitland—The Pashalic of the Morea conferred on the Pasha of Egypt—Destruction of Ipsara.

IN the beginning of the month of December, some slight disturbance having broken out in the district of Calávrita, Count Metaxas, in violation of the articles of the constitution, which directed that no member of the executive should quit his post without the permission of the senate, repaired thither to oppose it. Not having succeeded, he returned to Napoli; the senate, which was sitting then at Argos, immediately voted his dismissal, and appointed Coletti to be his successor. This measure was displeasing to the military party, and Pano Colocotronis, who commanded at Napoli, hastened with a body of men to Argos, to induce the senate to rescind their decree. Two captains, who sided with the senate, were for attacking him as an enemy to the state; but the senate did not venture on so bold a step, and they removed for the greater security to Cranídi. Several of the senators remained some days longer at Argos; some who were suspected of treason, justified the suspicion in some measure by proceeding to Napoli, whither Coletti also went at the direction of the senate; but as the members of the executive refused to admit him, he was obliged to depart again.

The senate employed every means in its power to induce the members of the executive to act in harmony with them, but they refused to abandon their colleague. The whole of the executive were now declared public enemies; and a new executive, at the head of which was placed George Condooriotis, was appointed; deputies were sent to the provinces, inviting them to adhere to the senate, and the act of accusation, accompanied by a proclamation, was published. The members of the executive, on their side, retired to Tripolitzá to prepare for war, leaving the defence of Napoli to Pano Colocotronis; Peter Mavromichális and others went to the provinces where their influence lay, to collect soldiers against the coming conflict. They proposed establishing a camp before Tripolitzá, at which place Colocotronis remained, to organize the resistance to the government.

The commencement of the year 1824 was marked by the arrival of Lord Byron in Greece. This talented and eccentric nobleman—who had been for years residing away from his native country, of which, were we to give credit to the effusions of his splenetic patriotism, no one more valued the welfare—wearied of idleness, eager for stimulus, ambitious of keeping himself in the eye of the world, inspired by classic recollections, or admiring the heroism displayed by the Greeks in the achievement of their emancipation, had, early in the year 1823, begun to think of casting himself, his name, and his fortune, into the Greek scale. Messrs Hobhouse, Blaquiere, and others, did all in their power to stimulate him; and on the 13th July he went on board an English vessel which he had freight-

ed at Genoa, near which place he had been lately residing. He was accompanied by Mr Trelawney, Count Gamba, Dr Bruno, his physician, and eight domestics, with a large stock of medicines, 10,000 Spanish dollars in cash, and 40,000 more in bills of exchange.

On the 3d August he landed in the island of Cephalonia, where he continued till the 28th of the following December. During that period, he was engaged in correspondence with the Greek government, and agreed, at their request, to give a loan of 30,000 dollars for the maintenance of a fleet to raise the blockade of Mesolonghi. His name and his money drew to him the hopes of all parties, and he was pressed to repair to the seat of government. The governor of Mesolonghi urging him to make his first visit to that town, he seriously resolved to proceed thither; and taking 50 Sooliotés, whom he found in the island, into his pay, he sailed for Mesolonghi, where he arrived on the 1st January, 1824, after a narrow escape of being taken by the Turkish cruisers.

Colonel Stanhope was already at Mesolonghi. Mr Parry, who was sent out by the London committee, arriving soon afterwards with stores and workmen, a laboratory was established under his direction. Colonel Stanhope had already commenced printing a newspaper in Greek, called the "Greek Chronicle;" and one in several languages, named the "Greek Telegraph," was shortly afterwards got up by that indefatigable promoter of the *march of intellect*, both with the aid of Lord Byron's money; who, however, saw, and told him, that the manner in which these journals were conducted, was calculated

to retard rather than advance the cause of Greece.

A corps of artillery was formed, and a body of 600 Sooliotes, or those who called themselves such, were taken into his lordship's pay, previous to a meditated attack on the fortress of Lépanto; but the conduct of these rude and greedy mountaineers was so turbulent and insolent, that it was found necessary to oblige them to leave the town; the fear which they inspired had previously determined nearly all the workmen who came out with Mr Parry, to return to England. Scarcely a day passed without some attempt being made by the primates of the town to extort money from the philhellenic nobleman; he was harassed by the brawls of the Sooliotes and the disputes of the Europeans; and the thousand other uneasinesses which he had to undergo, being added to the moisture of the soil and atmosphere, and the injudicious system which he had adopted of abstaining from animal food and wine, his constitution gave way, and he died of inflammatory fever on the 19th day of April.

The premature death of this highly gifted nobleman was a matter of deep regret at the time to the Greeks and their friends, who attached an exaggerated degree of importance to his name and influence. Yet he had effected literally almost nothing; and it is highly problematic whether he ever could have effected any thing to the advantage of Greece. His was, after all, not the character to command the respect of semi-barbarians: there was too much of irony and levity in it; too little of seriousness and authority. It must, however, be con-

fessed, that his ideas on the subject of the Greek cause, and the true method of advancing it, were much more rational and judicious than those of any of the persons who left England to busy themselves in their affairs. *He* had no wild ideas of Utopian republics; no predilections for the military chiefs against the respectable portion of the people; money, he saw clearly, was what Greece stood really in need of; it alone could give real stability to the government; a loan, he regarded as the only means of serving Greece, and he was most anxious to have it effected; schools and post-offices would, he thought, come in their proper place, when the nation was become independent.

The life of Lord Byron is now partly before the public, and we apprehend the impression which it will make with most minds will not be very favourable to his memory. His brightest days were perhaps his last.

Leaving, then, the episode of “Byron at Mesolonghi,” we return to the more immediate affairs of Greece.

The Greek government had, during the time that Lord Byron was at Cephalonia, dispatched Messrs Orlandos and Looriotis as their deputies to negotiate a loan in London; and so little inclination to throw any obstacles in their way was shown by the Ionian Government, that at Corfu, some days’ quarantine were taken off, to enable them to sail with the packet. On their arrival in London, having given satisfactory answers to the questions of the committee respecting the land and naval forces of Greece, the taxes and revenue, and to some others whose connexion with the subject of the loan it is

not very easy to discern, that body undertook to aid in forwarding their object, and a loan of L.800,000 was effected ; but as the actual money to be given was but L.49 for every L.100, and there were so many charges for management, the entire sum to be handed over to the Greek government would not exceed L.280,000.* The first instalment of L.40,000 was to be forwarded immediately, and the vessel carrying it arrived at Zante on the 24th April. As intelligence had reached England of the conduct of the military chiefs, who were extremely adverse to the idea of a loan, well aware how much it would strengthen the hands of the legislature, and had even sent an agent to throw difficulties in the way of obtaining it, precautions were adopted to secure the money sent out from falling into their power. Accordingly, Lord Byron, Mr Gordon of Cairness, (for whom Colonel Stanhope was to act till he arrived in Greece,) and Lazariot Condooriotis of Hydra, were appointed commissioners, who were to decide on the time and mode of issuing it to the government. The money itself was consigned to the houses of Barff and Logotheti in Zante, to be retained by them till they received an order from the commissioners to deliver it.

At this time the civil war was actually commenced. On the 22d February, Prince Hypsilantis, who had at Astros very imprudently sided with the military party, proceeded at their desire to Cranidi, to make proposals of accommodation. On his being admitted before the senate, he proposed that all that was past should

* Jourdain, ii. 67.

be forgotten; that they should forgive the alleged misdemeanours of Count Metaxas, and put all matters on the same footing on which they had been before these divisions occurred. He informed them that Colocotronis and Mavromichális would resign their posts as members of the executive, and with the other captains submit themselves to the government. He conjured them, in the name of their country and religion, to avoid the occasion of civil war, and to adopt measures for rallying all parties under the standard of the cross. A warm debate ensued; but it was finally resolved to reject his propositions, and Hypsilantis returned to Tripolitzá without any hopes of an accommodation.

It was resolved that the members of the government should get on board of two brigs of war, and proceed to summon Napoli di Romania to surrender. Accordingly, the executive embarked in one commanded by the admiral, Miowlis Vocos, and the senate in a Spetziote brig; these vessels were accompanied by two gun-boats, as it was resolved to blockade the place in case of a refusal.

On the 18th March, the two brigs left Cranídi, and anchored the same day at the Mills of Lerna. At the same time, 300 Cranídiotes, under the command of captain Nicholas, a member of the senate, marched to take a position at the village of Laria. Pano Colocotronis having placed two pieces of cannon at the Mills to defend them, the admiral opened a fire on that place on the 19th in the morning, and the soldiers who defended them flying to Argos, the troops of the government immediately took

possession of them. The following day, Napoli was declared to be in a state of blockade, and troops were ordered to proceed to take possession of Argos. This town acknowledged the government; and on the 16th of April the senate made their entrance into it; the executive still remained on shipboard.

As Colocotronis had left Tripolitzá, it was proposed that the seat of government should be transferred thither. The president of the executive very judiciously refused his consent to this proposal, and the senate contented themselves with sending to that town a commission, accompanied by the corps of General Londos, to adopt measures to prevent it again falling into the hands of Colocotronis and the military faction.

Towards the end of April, a congress, composed of deputies from the different districts of Eastern and Western Greece, met at Salona, to deliberate on the national affairs. The principal persons present were the captains Odysseus, Panoorias, and Gooras, with Negrís and Sophíaanópoulos, the agent of the Colocotronis party. Colonel Stanhope also attended, to give them the aid of his advice and experience. After a long discussion, whether the government of Argos or that of Tripolitzá was to be recognised as the real government, the question was decided in favour of the former. Several matters relating to the defence and the finances of the nation were discussed; but nothing of any remarkable interest was the result of this congress.*

* See Stanhope's Letters.

The Greeks, as is stated by Colonel Stanhope,* were now divided into three parties, which he thus characterises :—" 1st," says he, " there is Mavrocordatos, the oligarchs of the isles, and some of those of the Peloponnesus, and the legislative body. These are for order and a mild despotism, either under a foreign king or otherwise. This faction stood high, but must now change its principles, or lose its power. 2dly, There is Colocotronis, and some of the captains, and some of the oligarchs of the Morea, who are for power and plunder. This party is going down hill at a gallop. And, 3dly, There is Hypsilantis, Odysseus, Negris, and the mass who are now beginning to embrace republican ideas, finding that they cannot otherwise maintain their power." So that, on Colonel Stanhope's own showing, the respectable and enlightened portion of the Greek nation was in 1824 decidedly in favour of a monarchical form of government for Greece. —Had the Christian powers interfered at that time, what mischief and destruction might have been prevented!

On the 18th May, Colocotronis laid siege to Tripolitzá, and then marched a corps in three columns for the relief of Napoli. The first column was commanded by Nikitas; the second by Cólíopoolos; the third by Yanni Colocotronis. The following day at dawn, the two first columns appeared at a little village named Koosópoodi, within less than a league of Argos. The senate instantly took flight. After resting during the heat of the day, the two columns

* Letter to Mr Bentham, of May 4th.

put themselves in motion for Napoli. Two officers, named Hajee Christos, and Macriani, came out of Argos to oppose them. The former posted himself at the village of Lalooca, to keep them in check, while Macriani got on towards Napoli. Having sent in vain to Argos for reinforcements, Macriani, seeing that they had forced the passage at Lalooca, and knowing that Scoortis, who was before Napoli, would not be able to prevent their entering that town, adopted the bold resolution of attempting to stop them; and taking an advantageous position at a cross road near the ruins of Tiryns, he maintained so smart a fire that he forced them to fall back; and being joined by Hajee Christos, and a part of the besieging party, maintained his position for several days, during which time General Notaras, who had been searching in vain for the third column, sent a part of his men to reinforce them.

On the morning of the 21st, the third column arrived at Koossopodis. The same day, the executive came to Argos, and recalled the senators to their post. Their call was obeyed; but their attempts to engage the people to take arms, were not equally successful. The executive returned on shipboard in the afternoon, and in the evening the third column set out for Napoli, harassed in its march by some detachments from Argos. The two following days were occupied in an innocuous fusillade on both sides. On the evening of the 23d, Panos Colocotronis made a sortie to engage the attention of the government troops, while Nikitas and Coliopoolos should make an attempt on *Argos*. The engagement lasted till ten o'clock

at night, and the result was, that Yanni Colocotronis entered Napoli.

That night, 300 Laconians from Mistra arrived at, and pillaged, the village of Kivéri. They had been ordered to make themselves masters of the Mills of Lerna, and then to proceed without delay against Argos. But, loitering at Kivéri, they gave the executive time to send orders to Hajee Christos to come to oppose them. Admiral Miowlis brought his vessel close to the shore, and Punagi Orfanos threw himself, with 30 men, into the Mills. Next morning at daybreak, the Colocotronis made another sortie to engage the attention of the government troops. At the same time the 300 Laconians were seen marching for the Mills; when they were come within shot, General Orfanos attacked them vigorously; the admiral opened a fire of grape upon them. Hajee Christos got between them and Argos, so that they were obliged to take refuge in the old fortress of Lerna, where they were blockaded by Hajee Christos and Orfanos. Having no provisions, they offered to capitulate. Hajee Stephanos, one of their captains, and 100 men, placed themselves under the command of Hajee Christos; the remainder, having made their submission to the senate, were allowed to return home; but they were almost all massacred by the peasants of the villages through which they passed, on account of their behaviour at Kiveri.

Meantime, Nikitas and Coliopoolos, having made an injudicious halt at Koossopodis, did not arrive at Argos till it was broad daylight, and then committed a farther fault by making the attack in a place where a very few men

sufficed to defend it. The greater part of the senators fled to a monastery on the side of the hill of Argos. The military commanders, with their handful of men, made a very gallant resistance. Colonel Macriani arrived with reinforcements, and was getting round the hill of Argos, on the side of the Erasinus, to cut off their retreat to Tripolitzá. Nikitas and Coliopoolos, seeing that they had no chance of taking Argos, resolved to effect their retreat while it was time. They were pursued during an hour, and several mules and horses were taken. They, however, effected their junction with General Colocotronis. On the 29th and 30th, the government troops marched to raise the blockade of Tripolitzá, Hajee Christos remaining to defend Argos. Colocotronis, having failed in his object, retired to Calavrita to recruit his army. On the evening of the day of the battle, General Odysseus and his friend Negris arrived at Argos from Salona.

On the 5th June, the garrison of the Little Fort sent to say, that they were resolved to submit to the government; and on M. Rhodius, the secretary of the executive, proceeding thither with a detachment in the evening, he was admitted. Next day, after a few shots had been fired in Napoli, negotiations were entered into, and the day after, young Colocotronis left it, followed by a very few men, and proceeded to join their father.*

In the spring of this year two events had occurred affecting the Greek cause, the one in a slight, the other in a considerable, degree. The

* See Stanhope's Letters.

first was the death of Sir Thomas Maitland, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, an event at which the Greeks, though they did not, as they were charged by their enemies, make public rejoicings, certainly felt no small degree of satisfaction, and justly; for the insolence, arrogance, and tyranny, of this man, rendered doubly grievous to them the harsh measures of the British government against them, of which he was the agent and director. Though with the successes of the Greeks, and the accession of Mr Canning to the office of foreign secretary, the policy of England had undergone some alteration, and the Greek blockades, when effective, were now acknowledged; still the language of the Lord High Commissioner was to the very last rude, insulting, and offensive; which was strongly contrasted with that employed by his more polished and humane successor in office.

The other far more important event, was the measure adopted by the divan, to confer on Mehemit Ali, the powerful viceroy of Egypt, the pashalik of the Morea. It was expected that the Greeks would be able to offer little resistance to the troops of this vizir, which were disciplined by European officers; a system, of whose advantages the sultan was well aware, though the prejudices and mutinous spirit of his janizaries prevented his adopting it for his own troops. While the Egyptians were conquering the Morea, the imperial troops, it was supposed, might overrun continental Greece, which was better suited for the operations of cavalry; and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets might annihilate the naval power of the Greeks. Means might

afterwards be found for recovering the Morea from the viceroy of Egypt. Accordingly, the firman, appointing him to the pashalik of the Morea, was sent to Egypt on the 16th January 1824; and on the 18th of the following month, Mehemet announced to his divan his intention of commanding the expedition in person. He afterwards, however, appointed his son Ibrahim to the office of commander-in-chief of the army destined for the conquest of the Morea; and every exertion was made to collect troops, stores, and every thing needful. Sixty-one vessels, thirty-five of which carried the Austrian, and twenty-six the English flag, offered their services as transports, for an army destined for the destruction of a Christian people.*

The Porte, perfectly convinced that nothing but the destruction of the naval power of the Greeks would enable her to recover her supremacy, and also moved by the representations made by the Moslems of the coast of Asia, resolved to make a great effort for the attainment of that object. In the month of April, a large force was collected at Mitylene under the captain-pasha, for the purpose of attacking Ipsara, the nearest of the strong naval isles of the Greeks, and the one which did the greatest mischief to the Ottoman commerce and possessions. Small squadrons were sent to Scopolas, near the gulf of Volo, and to Casas, near Candia. At the former place, all attempts to land had been fruitless, but at the last, they had been more fortunate, as they massacred a part of the inhabitants, and destroyed some vessels which lay in the harbour.

* *Soutzo*, 313, from the *Hydra Gazette*.
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Topal-pasha, the Turkish admiral, having collected a great number of transports at Mitylene, for the conveyance of the troops destined for the attack on Ipsara, made sail on the 27th June with twelve frigates to reconnoitre that island. Having accomplished his object, he returned to his former station, and on the 1st July, the entire Turkish fleet was descried by the people of Ipsara making for their island. The number of ships of various kinds was so great, that Canaris, to give an idea of it, said the whole space between Ipsara and Mitylene was one immense bridge. The fleet reached Ipsara in the evening; some frigates and corvettes were detached to examine various points where it was proposed to attempt a landing; they exchanged a few shots with the Greeks, and then returned to the fleet, which remained quiet the whole night, with lanterns at all the masts, probably to guard against an attempt of the Greeks.

It is the opinion of M. Jourdain, that, with fifteen fireships, the whole Turkish fleet might have been destroyed that night. But a sort of fatality seems to have prevailed over the councils of the primates of Ipsara. Instead of manning their ships, and seeking to oppose the enemy on the element where their own superiority was most decisive, they disarmed the ships, taking even the helms off of them, thereby precluding all hopes of escape in case of defeat, and setting the sailors to work the batteries; the old men, women, and children were, for the greater part, put on board the ships, and a few men left to defend them. It is even said* that

* Lauvergne, "Souvenirs de la Grèce, p. 139.

the spirit of pride and rivalry was so strong in the bosoms of the Ipsariotes, that they disdainfully rejected the proffered aid of the Hydraotes, declaring themselves to be sufficiently strong to drive the infidels from their shores. The primates had farther been warned to be on their guard against a corps of 3000 Albanians whom they had in their service, and whose commander, Costaz, had been a renegado, and had served a long time aboard of the fleet of the capitan-pasha, and was intimate with the commander of the Albanians now on board of the Turkish fleet. They were also aware of there being other traitors also in the isle. They would not, however, venture to get rid of Costaz; and they sought to render his treachery ineffective, by placing him in a part of the island where it did not seem possible to make a landing.

At the two great batteries of the island—that on the hill of St Nicholas, near the town, and that at the mouth of the port on the right—were placed two corps of 1500 men each; 1200 men were distributed along the coast, to serve the small batteries which protected various points which were of themselves nearly inaccessible. A reserve of about 4000 men was stationed near the town, ready to proceed to any point where its services might be required.

At break of day on the 3d, the Ottoman fleet advanced in two columns to attempt a landing; while one division directed its course for the port, the other made sail for the creek, under the place where the Albanians were stationed; and, while the attention of the Ipsariotes was drawn to the attack of the first, the second, under favour of a thick cloud of smoke caused by the

firing of its guns, landed 4000 men. A Turkish detachment immediately proceeded along a defile, when a single Greek, who was on the height above them, gave them a momentary check, killing eleven of their number before they were well aware of him ; but the mass of the division coming up, and a part of them climbing the rocks, he was obliged to take flight. The Turks, scaling the hills, arrived at a petty battery of three small guns, defended by thirty Ipsariotes, who all died at their post, after killing a great number of the enemy. If Costaz and his Albanians, who were immediately over their heads, had now opened a fire on the Turks, they might have driven them back to the shore with great loss, as this was the only spot on this side by which it was possible to penetrate into the interior of the isle. But, instead of so doing, he offered to capitulate ; the Turks, however, taking advantage of their inaction, rushed on the Albanians, and cut them nearly all to pieces. Though taken in some degree at unawares, they sold their lives dear, and made many a Moslem bite the ground.

The Turks now advanced rapidly through the isle, to effect a junction with the other division, which had been for some hours attempting to land, and had sustained considerable loss in the attempt. The column which was in the interior, seeing their friends thus repulsed, hesitated and made a halt ; but seeing terror spread among the Greeks, they resolved to advance. Old men, women, and children rush to the town to get on board the ships and boats. The Ipsariotes, who were opposing the landing of the Turks, astonished at this sight, pause, and few

to get between two fires. The Turks, taking advantage of their hesitation, effect their landing; the Ipsariotes are surrounded. After a bloody conflict, and slaying thousands of the barbarians, 1500 of the brave Ipsariotes force their way through their masses, and reach the foot of the hill which commands the town, still harassed and attacked, but never broken; they continue the fight till night, when they take advantage of the dark to retire into the fort of St Nicholas, where a great number of the old men, the women, and the children, had already sought refuge.

Meantime the Ipsariote admiral, Apostolis, who commanded on another part of the island, seeing that no answer was made to his signals, and hearing a constant firing of cannon and small arms, suspected that the corps of reserve was gone to assist in opposing the landing of the enemy. Leaving, therefore, his post in the charge of his countrymen and of some Albanians, he set out for the town with two armed vessels. On his way he meets several vessels without rudders, full of old men, women, and children, driving before the wind; he sees the sea covered with dead bodies, and learns that Ipsara is no more. Perceiving his own brig the Leonidas among these vessels, he gets on board of her, and flies from his unfortunate country. Those whom he had left to guard his post were soon surrounded by the enemy; their life was offered them if they would surrender; their reply was, "We have arms and provisions; liberty or death is the motto of Ipsara." All but three perished. These reached the shore, *but Apostolis was gone.* The departure of this

admiral has been blamed as having been too prompt, as there were no Turkish ships on that side of the island, and he might, if at hand, have been instrumental in saving several lives.*

Topal-pasha sent fresh troops to invest Fort St Nicholas, and ordered an assault. An attempt to take it by storm was made the next morning, and failed; a vigorous firing of grape and musketry was kept up by the defenders; still the Turks returned to the charge again and again, each time with redoubled rage and fury. Meantime the Ipsariotes, seeing the number of their enemies increasing every moment, and knowing that their provisions would never hold out till the arrival of the fleets of Hydra and Spetzia, resolved to die like heroes sooner than submit to slavery. The firing of the Greeks ceased for a few minutes. The Turks, thinking they were going to surrender, rushed in crowds to the fortress; the gate was open, they were pressing in; in an instant the flag of Ipsara was hauled down, and a white flag, with *Liberty or Death* upon it, hoisted; a cannon-shot was fired, an explosion instantly followed, which shook the isle and the vessels at sea. The sound ceased, St Nicholas was a heap of ruins, and 4000 Turks and 3000 Ipsariotes had perished.†

* Jourdain. M. Lauvergne would seem to intimate, that Apostolis was not at Ipsara when the Turks landed, but at sea with the fleet, and that he arrived too late to be able to render any service to his countrymen.

† According to Mr Blaquiere, the men placed themselves close to the gate, with the women and children in their rear; a soldier with a lighted match being placed at the powder magazine, the gates then were thrown open,

All the ships of Ipsara, except about twenty, which escaped to Hydra and Syra, fell into the power of the Turks. During two days, the isle was a scene of horror and devastation. The ground was strewn with the dead and dying. Many destroyed themselves, rather than fall into the hands of the Turks; one woman in particular, the wife of one of the primates, plunged from a precipice into the sea, with her children in her arms, sooner than see them and herself slaves. Some French ships of war saved about 200 unhappy beings, whom they carried to Napoli.

Such was the fate of Ipsara, more deserving of sympathy than that of Chios; for the Ipsariotes bravely perished, the victims of treachery, disdaining submission, and involving their enemies in their ruin. It gave the world a convincing proof that the Hellenes were firmly resolved rather to die to the last man, than ever again to return under the Ottoman yoke; and the memory of those who perished, must ever be held in glorious remembrance.

upon which about 2000 of the enemy rushed in, when the fort was so full, that not a man more could enter; the signal was given, and in another instant every soul within its walls was buried in the ruins, or blown into the air by the explosion. Such being the case, we should be glad to know where Mr Blaquiere learned all these particulars.

CHAPTER XI

The Greek Fleet sails for Ipsara—Attempt of the Turks on Samos—Defeat of their Fleet—Engagement with the Egyptian Fleet—Unsuccessful Attempts of the Turks in Continental Greece—Civil War in the Morea—Defeat of the Rebels—Letter of Goora to the Government—Civil Regulations—Soliman-Bey—Bekar-Aga—Ibrahim-Pasha—Landing of the Egyptians in the Morea—Siege of Navarino—The Arabs succeed in an Attempt on the Island of Sphacteria—Death of Tsamados, and of Santa Rosa.

THE death of Lord Byron was in a great measure the cause of the destruction of Ipsara; for, in consequence of that event, Messrs Barff and Logotheti refused to issue the portion of the loan in their hands, till they had received farther instructions from London; and the capitalists of Hydra and Spetzia, who had hitherto been at the chief expense of the fleet, knowing that the government was in daily expectation of money, hung back on the present occasion. The consequence was, that the fleet, though ready for sea, could not sail. But the moment the catastrophe of Ipsara became known in Hydra, the whole population assembled at the port, and proceeding in a body to the convent where the local government sat, insisted on the capitalists advancing money forthwith, declaring that they had already begun to make a collection among themselves. The call was attended to; the fleet was soon at sea; and the sailors, animated with desire to avenge the blood of

their countrymen, were impatient to come in sight of the enemy.*

Spetzia, and the other naval islands, followed the example of Hydra; and, on the 15th July, the admiral Miowlis appeared before Ipsara, with a fleet of eighty sail. At the sight of this fleet, thirty-five Turkish vessels, which were lying in the harbour, (the rest of the fleet having returned to Mitylene,) cut their cables, and put to sea. The Grecian admiral gave chase, and captured nine sloops of war. Returning then to Ipsara, he seized some gunboats, which were lying in the port, and 1100 of his men landed, to attack the Turks who remained in the island; these not having time to fly, took refuge, with the women and children who were their prisoners, in some houses, where the Greeks besieged them, intending to reduce them by famine; for fear of injuring the women and children prevented their firing on the Turks. But on the 18th, the Turkish fleet came back from Mitylene, to endeavour to get off those who had been left at Ipsara; the Greeks got on board to engage them, and the Turks took advantage of this opportunity, of getting away with their prey. An action commenced between the two fleets; but, the wind shifting, the Greeks found themselves to leeward of the enemy, and were obliged to give over the engagement. They, however, succeeded in coming up with, and sinking, several sloops, which were making for Chios.

Admiral Miowlis, leaving thirty ships under the command of the brave Sactoori, sailed with

* Blaquiere.

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the remainder of the squadron, to oppose the Egyptian fleet, which was now said to be at sea. Topal-pasha, taking advantage of his absence, left Mitylene, and appeared, on the 11th August, before Samos. The people of the island transported all their property and provisions into the interior, where their wives and children also sought the refuge of the hills, and the men took their posts on the coast, which they had fortified, determined to maintain their independence or perish.

The Turks had gotten into about forty boats, and were attempting to land, when Sactoori bore suddenly down upon them, sunk some, took others, and drove the rest on the coast of Asia. On the 12th and 13th, the Turks again made ineffectual attempts to land. On the 16th, they resolved to attack the Greek fleet between cape Santa Marina and Colonnis. The engagement began at half past four in the morning; twenty-two ships of war were engaged with sixteen Greek ships and two fire-ships; the remainder of the Greek fleet was lying at anchor. The engagement was obstinate on both sides; at length the Turks were forced to yield to the skill and valour of the Greeks, and they were driven to a greater distance from Samos than on any of the preceding days. The Asiatic troops, who were encamped on the coast of Asia waiting to be transported to Samos, were witnesses of the rout of their navy.

On the 17th, at break of day, the Turkish fleet returned to the charge, with the wind in its favour. Sactoori immediately made signal to the other vessels and fire-ships which were at anchor, to get ready, and come to join him.

At four in the morning, the fire-ship commanded by captain Demetrius Tzebli came up, near cape St Marina, to a frigate of fifty-four guns, named Boorlot Corcoaz (*Fearnought fire-ship*); a light breeze springing up, she escaped for the time; but at five o'clock the intrepid Canáris approached her, fastened his fire-ship to her, and set it on fire; the flames laid hold on the frigate, and rapidly spread to her powder-magazine; she blew up in an instant; all her crew perished, and with them 500 men, who were destined for the disembarkation in Samos. Several Turkish soldiers on shore also were killed by the explosion, and about a score of boats, intended for the transport of the troops from the coast of Asia, were set on fire, and burnt, by the flaming fragments of the frigate which fell among them.

At nine o'clock, captain Valikiolis laid hold on a Tunisian brig of twenty guns, and reduced her to ashes. At eleven o'clock, Demetrius Raphelias attached his fire-ship to a Tripolitan corvette of forty-eight guns, and at the same moment another Spetziote fire-ship also came up to her; she was soon on fire, and blew up. Robotzis attached his fire-ship to another frigate, but a number of boats coming to her relief, she was saved.

The Turkish fleet now took flight, and Samos was saved. It is remarkable, that in this glorious action the Greeks should have lost but three men; two on board of the ship of Canáris, and one on board that of Robotzis. Captain Demetrius Tzebli had his face burnt.

A few days after this unfortunate battle, the *Turkish fleet*, still harassed and pursued by that

of the Greeks, made sail for the bay of Stanco, where, on the 26th August, it effected a junction with that of Egypt, commanded by Ibrahim-pasha. The combined fleet formed a total of 263 sail, of which 133 were ships of war, and 130 transports, namely—

The capitan-pasha's ship of ninety guns, two ships of the line, sixteen frigates, fourteen corvettes, seventy brigs, thirty light vessels, forty-eight Austrian transports, two Russian, six Sardinian, one American, twenty-six Maltese, under the English flag, twenty-nine Spanish, forty Turkish. The transports had on board both cavalry and infantry, with provisions and military stores destined for the Morea.

Numerous as the combined fleets were, the Greeks resolved to attack them; and on the 5th September, Admiral Miowlis fell on them with forty brigs, in the road of Stanco. The combat was obstinate, and terminated to the advantage of the Greeks. On the 8th, the infidels were again dispersed between Cos and Satalia. The 9th, a slight action took place; the following day, the Turks, taking advantage of a favourable wind, fell on the Greeks suddenly, and pressed them so close, that twenty of their vessels were near being taken, when Anthony Criesis, accompanied by the captains Zacas and Lalichos, making signal to Pipinos, Matrozos, and Kaloyanis, to follow him with their fire-ships, bore down on the enemy. The Turks took to flight. An Egyptian brig of twenty guns remaining behind, the three fire-ships fastened on her, and burnt her; but their boats getting between two frigates which were coming to the assistance of the brig, they would have been

taken or destroyed, had not Criesis come to their relief. In the meantime, Papantonis attached his fire-ship to one of the frigates, on board of which was the Tunisian admiral, and set fire to her on the starboard side; by the aid of the pumps, however, the flames were nearly extinguished, when Vatikiotis bore down upon her, and set fire to her on the larboard side. The admiral threw himself into the sea, to make his escape, but he was taken by the boat of Anastatius Tsamados; the crew, of 900 men, all perished.

On the 22d an engagement between some parts of the hostile fleets took place before Icaria, in which the brave Criesis greatly distinguished himself. The fleet of the capitan-pasha having retired to Chios, the captain, Nicodemus burnt there on the 4th October a corvette, Theodarakis and Kaloyonis destroyed a brig, and Robotzis damaged one of their frigates so much as to make it unserviceable.

Ibrahim still kept the sea, pursued by Miowlis, who harassed him night and day. On the 12th November, the Greek fleet, of fifty-six sail, gave battle to the Egyptians off Spina Longa, in the island of Candia, at eleven A.M. At one P.M. they sent forward a fire-ship, which, however, produced no effect. The combat lasted till ten at night, when the Greek admiral sent out two more fire-ships. These caused the greatest confusion among the enemy, of which the Greeks took advantage to make themselves masters of eight transports, and nine others went on shore at the isle of Scarpento. The Egyptians took refuge at Candia; the Greeks retired to the neighbouring isle of Casas with

their prizes; and Ibrahim took advantage of their absence to send a part of his transports back to Egypt. On the 22d, the Greek fleet returned to Hydra.

During the summer, the Turks had made two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into continental Greece. An army under Dervish-pasha was collected in Thessaly, for the invasion of Bœotia; but it was defeated at Amblaneos by Kitsos Tsavellas and Lambro Veïco, and forced to fall back to Zeitoon. Omer Briones, who had entered Ætolia, was driven back by the efforts of Rango, Zonga, Karaïskaki, and Stooruari.*

Meantime, the Morea was the scene of a civil war. Some of the most powerful of the primates, such as Londo, Sissini, Zaïmi, and the Deli Yanis, discontented with the executive, and anxious to share in the power, joined Colocotronis, who was besieging Tripolitza with a considerable force. The government, having little or no troops in the Morea, turned their eyes to Roomelia, and wrote to Goora, the lieutenant of Odysseus, who commanded at Athens, to come to their aid.

"John Gooras," says M. Soutzo, "was at that time one of the most powerful captains of Roomelia. Nature had endowed him with all external advantages. his stature was tall and majestic; his aspect suggested to one's imagination the colossal beauty of the Jupiter Olympius of Phidias; his soul was full of energy, his mind full of sense. Sprung from the class of the people, he was an ardent republican; he

* Soutzo, 332.

loved the constitution, because it opened to all citizens the road to honour; and such was the respect which he professed for it, that he has often been heard to say, 'In one hand I hold my sword, in the other the charter of my country—woe to him who would attempt to trample upon it!'"*

On receiving the letters of the senate, Goora, who had been convinced by Sophianopoolo that it would be for his advantage to support the government, collected his troops, passed the isthmus, and defeated a corps of the rebels before Corinth. He soon appeared before Tripolitzá, and a smart engagement, in which 1200 men fell on both sides, ended in the defeat of the rebels. Panos Colocotronis was slain, and Slaicos and eighty men taken prisoners. The rebels were pursued on all sides. Sissinis, Zaïmis, Londres, and the Deli Yanis, fled to Mesolonghi in the beginning of January 1825, where Mavrocordátos, instead of arresting them, favoured their escape to Zante. Theodore Colocotronis and some others were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. While the senate were deliberating how they should treat the chiefs of the insurrection, the following letter, we are told,† was written to them by Goora:—

"Senators, and you members of the executive body,—Theodore Colocotronis, Andrew Zaïmis, George Sissinis, the entire family of the Deli Yanis, Andrew Londres, Soteris, and John

* Mr Waddington describes him as a fine rough gladiator. Mr Humphries charges him with cruelty and other vices.

† Soutzo, 341.

Notaras, have resolved, fire and sword in hand, to abolish the constitution, and to bury all Greece beneath her ruins. The honour, the property, the life of the people of the peninsula, have received violent assaults. It is for you to prove to the nation that its laws are based on the solid foundations of justice. All the Greeks in general require of you, that such of these rebels as have been arrested should be judged and punished with rigour; and that those who have escaped, or remain concealed in the interior of Greece, should be declared banished for life.

“ If those to whom their country has now committed power, should, from a false sentiment of humanity, or from a spirit of interested policy, let go unpunished these disturbers of the public order, let them know that they will soon have to use the same indulgence towards me; for the moment crime escapes its merited chastisement, it becomes a dangerous bait for the other citizens. Do not, then, despise my words, as being merely those of a soldier; weigh them well; the Greeks are not a people fitted to be the object of the insulting arrogance of a Zaïmis, of the infamous debaucheries of a Londos, and of the aged cunning of a Notaras.

“ The freedom with which I express myself, would, under a despotic government, be treated as disobedience; but it is permitted by our political code, of which the fundamental law declares, that every Greek has a right to express, by speech or by writing, whatever he thinks useful to the public cause.”

The letter of Goora was not without its effect on the minds of the members of the senate.

a commission was chosen to try the prisoners, and they were meantime sent to Hydra for security.

A considerable degree of tranquillity now prevailed in the Morea, and the government took advantage of it for forming institutions of public benefit. Schools were opened in various parts, and the learned Constantas was appointed inspector of public instruction; many individuals came forward with their money in aid of these national objects. A society was formed at Napoli for the establishment of hospitals, and another for the preservation of the ancient monuments of art. Letters and votes of thanks to Jeremy Bentham for his observations on the Greek constitution, and to other Philhellenes, for their various services towards Greece, were written and passed by the senate.* A criminal code was drawn up, and announced in the following terms, by the minister of justice, to the nation :—

“ Hellenes, give thanks to the Most High on beholding the effects of your unwearied arms. It is now the fourth year that we carry fire and sword against our tyrants, and what have we not done in that short space of time? We have liberated the land of our ancestors, by shedding torrents of the blood of our oppressors; we have

* The following decree for the naturalization of Mr Blaquiere, reminds one of the days of Demosthenes. The Greek is too classical to require a translation.

Ἐπειδὴ Ἐδουάρδος Βλακκίρης, τὸ γένος Βρεταννός, διατιθεῖ
 εἰς τοὺς ὧν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἂν δύνηται
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτῇ
 παραίτιος γίνεσθαι; δίδοται τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινῇ
 παύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, τιμῆς καὶ ὑγιωμοσύνης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ ψέφισμα κοινοῦσθαι, ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

recovered our rights, drawn up laws, established a government founded on justice, which now promulgates a penal code, proposing to erect in all places tribunals which may prevent the powerful from oppressing the weak, the rich from harassing the poor.

“Hellenes, four years of heroic conflicts have sufficiently proved that you are the true offspring of those from whom you boast to be descended. It only remains for you to show yourselves to be the heirs of their virtues, by living like just men, honest citizens, and true Christians.

“Such is what the ministry of justice briefly recommends, and calls your attention to offering up its prayers that you may direct your steps in the way of equity, and never stand in need of these penal laws.”

It seems rather extraordinary, that the government should have turned their attention to these matters, which supposed a state of freedom and tranquillity, instead of preparing measures of defence against the formidable army which they must have known was now assembled in Candia, and destined for the conquest of the Morea. Yet no efforts appear to have been made to put the army on a respectable footing.

Theodore Negris was now dead, and his friend Odysseus had deserted the cause of his country, and joined the Turks; the only man of any considerable influence at the head of government was Coletti, who had a strong hold on the affections of the Roomeliote troops, who were still in the peninsula. Mavrocordatos, who had now been a year at Mesolonghi, leaving that place, proceeded to Napoli di Romania,

where he was at once made secretary of state; and his talents and his excellent qualities soon won him the heart of the president, Condoo-riotis. This last was about to send a force against Patrás, at the suggestion of Coletti. Mavrocordátos gave the same advice, but, jealous of Coletti, he persuaded the president not to permit him to accompany the expedition, as his influence over the Roomeliotes might, he said, make him dangerous. The president, accordingly, taking the command in person, and accompanied by Mavrocordátos alone, advanced towards Patrás. The Roomeliote captains murmured, and several of them refused to follow him. He was forced to pitch his camp at Scala, and each day he saw his army diminish by desertion.

Meantime the Egyptian army, of 16,000 men, was encamped along the bay of Suda in Candia, waiting for a favourable opportunity of passing over to the Morea. It was under the command of Ibrahim, son to the Pasha of Egypt; the chief officers under him were, Khoorsheed, the favourite of the old pasha, Hussein, the commander of the cavalry, and Soliman-bey, a renegade Frenchman named Sève, the son of a miller near Lyons, who, according to his own account, had risen from the ranks to the post of *chef d'escadron* in the army of Napoleon. Going to Egypt in search of employment, he had been recommended to Mehemet Ali, whose favour he won by disciplining for him some troops in the European manner. But as the Mohammedan law does not allow of infidels holding authority over true believers, M. Sève had the option given him by the pasha, of retaining his

religion, and continuing a mere drill-sergeant, or of abandoning it, and attaining to the rank of bey, with a high command in the armies of his patron. After a slight hesitation, the *ex-chef d'escadron*, whose notions on the subject of religion were not of course very strict, gave the preference to the path leading to honour and power. The rich robe of honour was cast over his shoulders, and Mehemet proclaimed him Soliman-bey in the presence of all his officers. The new Mussulman learned to perform all the duties of religion with great gravity and decorum, and he took three wives to furnish his harem *à la Turque*.

The European who was next or equal to Soliman-bey in consideration with the pasha of Egypt, was a Corsican named Mari, who had been a captain of infantry in the French army. As M. Mari would not change his religion, he had no command; he was styled Bekar-agá, and his office was that of disciplining the portion of the army commanded by Khoorsheed. In his knowledge of military tactics and manœuvres, he much exceeded Soliman-bey, with whom, as was to be expected, he was on very ill terms.

The army of Ibrahim had also in it some European surgeons and other officers; and the discipline introduced by these men, rendered it far more formidable to the Greeks than any Moslem force which they had yet encountered.*

Ibrahim-pasha, the commander of the Egyptian army, is of the middle size, extremely corpulent, and rather awkward in his movements.

* See Lauvergne, "Souvenirs de la Grèce."

There is nothing dignified in his air or his manner; his countenance expresses gaiety and mildness. His features are small, his eyes grey and lively, a constant smile plays about his lips, but his disposition is cruel. He is remarkably plain in his dress. Like his father, he is illiterate; but knows how to value in others the knowledge which he does not possess himself. His bravery has never been questioned.

Khoorsheed-bey, the second in command, had little to distinguish him but his personal beauty, which he inherited from his mother, who was a Circassian. This had won him the affection of Mehemet Ali, and he possessed sufficient personal courage, but no military knowledge.*

Ibrahim, who had been for some time on the coast of Asia Minor, having joined his army in Candia in the month of February, orders were given for embarkation. The horses were shipped on board the frigates, the troops ascended the other vessels; the Europeans, who feared falling into the hands of the Greeks, took their station on board of the Austrian transports, whose flags bade defiance to the Greek cruisers. The weather was beautiful, the wind favourable, the sky blue and unclouded; the bluey mountains of the Morea were clearly visible in the distance; far as the eye could extend over the sea, not a sail was in view. The anchor was weighed, and next day the fleet rode safely off the coast of the Peloponnesus.†

The landing was effected at Modon, which was still in the hands of the Turks. As the season was not sufficiently advanced for military

* *Lauvergne.*

† *Ibid.*

operations, Ibrahim and his staff took up their abode in the town, and his army encamped on the plain before the walls. The president Condooriotis, on hearing of the landing of the Egyptian army, gave up his projects against Patrás, and came and encamped, with 10,000 men, between Modon and Navarino. The defence of the village of Calyvia was committed to the captain Kara Tassos, and 197 men; that of Old Navarino, or Paleocastro, to Hajee Christos, and 600 men; and the Hydraote Anastatius Tsamados, who commanded a squadron of eight brigs, undertook to maintain possession of the island of Sphacteria, in front of the harbour. Provisions and ammunition were sent to that island; and the minister of war, Papa Georgis, was ordered to repair thither with 1200 men, which order he but partially obeyed.*

The fortress of Navarino is situated above the town, on the top of a hill; its walls are tolerably good, but, like most places built by the Venetians, it is commanded by other military positions, which should be occupied, in order to render it secure. The most important places are the isle of Sphacteria, and the hill of St Elias, as whoever occupies these must be soon master of Navarino. These places, however, had not been secured at the time when Ibrahim arrived, and, had he attempted a *coup-de-main*,

* M. Soutzo says that he derives his account of the operations of the Egyptian army from the journal of Ibrahim, published by his father at Cairo, and from the reports of the Greek captains. We shall, however, continue to give the preference to the narrative of M. Jourdain.

he might easily have carried the place, as the garrison did not exceed 1000 men.

The first slight engagement between the Greeks and the Arabs, was at Old Navarino, whence Hajee Christos made a sortie; but not being supported by the other captains, he was repulsed with loss.

Tassos, by making battlements on the houses of Calivia, and by other contrivances, had turned that village into a sort of fortress. As Ibrahim was aware of the value of that position, and moreover, was anxious to get Tassos, with whose military skill and valour he was acquainted, into his hands, he directed 3000 men to march upon that point in three columns, and to carry it by the bayonet. Tassos directed his men to reserve their fire, and wait for his orders. The enemy was soon about the village on all sides, but not a shot was fired at them; they were now quite close to the cottages, and were just going to make the assault, when the word was given to fire. The discharge was so well directed and sustained, that the enemy stopped as if struck by lightning; recovering their senses, they rushed forward, but were again repulsed; again they advanced, again the fire of the Greeks checked them. An obstinate conflict was maintained during eight hours, and at night the Arabs retired to a considerable distance. The Greek commander took advantage of their retiring, to evacuate a place which he could not hope to maintain, unprovided as he was with ammunition and provisions. The loss of the Greeks had been nearly one-half of their number; that of the enemy must have *been much greater*, as the Greeks, in crossing

the plain, picked up 350 guns and bayonets, which they afterwards sold at Tripolitza.

Ibrahim, having been largely reinforced* by men from Egypt during the month of March, attacked a large portion of the Greek army which was posted at the village of Cranídi, about three leagues from Modon, under the command of the Hydraote captain Scoorti, and routed them. The loss of the Greeks was considerable. Learning then that the Greek commanders were meditating an attack on him, he resolved to be beforehand with them, and, making a sudden assault on their camp, defeated them, with great slaughter; 1200 of the Greeks were slain, and the spirit of their soldiers was completely broken. Ibrahim took advantage of this circumstance to blockade Navarino closely.

A corps of 6500 men, chiefly composed of Sooliotes and Roomeliotes, under the command of no less than seventeen generals,† as they were now called, covered Navarino on the opposite side to Modon. Mavrocordátos repaired to their camp; the generals, who disliked him, immediately came about him, and demanded to know

* It is very difficult to ascertain the number of the Egyptian army. Count Pecchio seems to be the nearest the truth, when he states its entire force to be 15,000 men, viz. three regiments of Arab infantry, of about 4000 men each, 700 cavalry, and 2000 Albanians.

† The word *Strategos* (*general, commander*) had been revived, and was now used instead of *Kapetanos*; that of *Antistrategos* (*lieutenant-general*) was also brought into use: but the ideas attached to them are very different from those which the words that we are obliged to employ as their translations suggest to our minds. As the government had no money to give their officers, they were obliged to pay them with pompous titles.

y the arrears of the pay of their men were not charged. Not satisfied with his replies, they t a deputation to demand it of the president; on his refusal, they came themselves to la, where he then was, and forced him to pay m. They at the same time presented a memorial, requiring the suspension of Mavrocórdá from office for four months, offering, on that dition, to continue to serve their country. e president refused to sacrifice his friend, l these patriots immediately led their men of the Morea, indifferent to its fate. Mav- ordátos, on looking around to see where his sence might be of most service, fixed on the nd of Sphacteria, whither he repaired. brahim, knowing that he should find it diffi- t to reduce Navarino as long as Sphacteria s in the hands of the Greeks, ordered Soli- a-bey to embark two regiments in fifty boats, l attempt a landing on the island. He divided fleet into two squadrons, one of which was tioned outside the port to oppose Miowlis ase of his approach; the other at the mouth t, to intercept the vessels of Tsamados, which re at anchor within the port. On the 8th y, the Egyptian troops got on board their ts, and made for the island; Tsamados in- ntly hastened to the assistance of his country- n, with all the boats of his ships. About ven in the forenoon, the Arabs attempted a ding, but without success; three times suc- sively they were repulsed; at length they re more fortunate on another point—they ve back the Greeks, and landed. The brave enders of the isle soon saw themselves sur- nded, and all hopes of retreat cut off. Head-

ed by Tsamados, they resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible ; they rushed on the foes with all the fury of despair ; Tsamados fell, pierced with numerous wounds ; his gallant companions fell around him. Reduced to a very small number, the Greeks, headed by Stavros Sahinis, the Hydraote, took refuge in a little chapel in which their ammunition had been deposited, and defended themselves there till their number was reduced to six and their commander, when Sahinis, setting fire to the powder, died with his companions the death of a hero. The minister of war, who had concealed himself in a cavern, was found there, and massacred by the Arabs.

Mavrocordátos and some others got on board the boats, and reached the ships ; ascending the brig of Tsamados, he made an effort to get to sea, and, after having been for five hours exposed to the fire of the Egyptian fleet, he made his way through it, and reached Hydra in safety.*

Among those who perished in Sphacteria, was the brave and accomplished Piedmontese, Santa Rosa, who had come to Greece to fight the battles of freedom, after the miscarriage of the attempt in which he had been engaged for gi-

* Such is the account of his conduct given by Soutzo, who is assuredly no admirer of his. Jourdain makes him fly in the midst of the engagement, and take all the boats away with him, leaving no means of escape for those who were fighting. Whatever the faults of Mavrocordátos may be, no one surely can charge him with want of courage or of humanity. It is to be observed, that all the French writers since 1825 have a particular spleen against him, on account of his leaning to the side of England.

ving a constitution to his native country. The death of Tsamados was a subject of deep and lasting regret to the Greeks, especially to those of the islands, who were best acquainted with his valour and noble qualities. In all the churches a solemn service was performed in memory of him and his valiant companions.

CHAPTER XII.

Surrender of Old Navarino—Egyptian Ships burnt by the Greeks—Surrender of New Navarino—Colocotronis set at liberty—Odysseus surrenders himself to Goora—Battle of Pedemen—Calamata taken and burnt—Defeat of the Greeks on the way to Tripolitza—Ibrahim enters Tripolitza—Gallant defence of the Mills of Lerna—Ibrahim returns to Tripolitza.

As the port was now open, Ibrahim proceeded to attack Old Navarino. His fleet entered the port; he placed one battery on the island and another on the mainland, and during three days a constant fire was kept up from the ships and batteries on the old castle, which had not a single gun, and was defended by only 600 men. The enemy made several attempts to land in front of it, but was always repulsed, and several of his boats suffered greatly from the musketry of the besieged. Ibrahim lost 1200 men in these attempts. The Greeks, as provisions were beginning to fail them, attempted, on the night of the 13th, to force their way through the lines of the enemy; but Ibrahim had information of their design, and he had large fires kept up to guide the fire of the batteries. One captain,

named Poniero Poolos, escaped with 200 men; the remainder were forced to return to the castle. The loss of the Greeks in this attempt was 200 men; that of the Arabs was still more considerable.

The following day, Ibrahim summoned the garrison to surrender. They boldly replied, that they would sooner die than be slaves. He then proposed that they should leave the castle, without arms or money, and return to their homes. These terms were accepted, and the castle was given up. Contrary to the articles of capitulation, Ibrahim retained prisoners, Hajee Christos and the Bishop of Modon,—the former to exchange him against the pasha, who was at Napoli; the latter, on account of his having been, as was said, a chief promoter of the cruelties exercised against the Turks who had surrendered at Navarino in 1822.

The garrison of Old Navarino had not had for the last three days of their defence, a morsel of bread or a drop of water. This was owing to the imprudence of the minister of war, who had accumulated all the provisions in the island of Sphacteria, instead of distributing them in the different places.

After the surrender of Old Navarino, Ibrahim anchored twelve frigates in the harbour before New Navarino, and, during four days and nights, a constant fire from these ships, and from the batteries on Sphacteria, Mount Elias, and the neighbouring heights, was directed against that place. On the 16th, Ibrahim summoned the garrison to surrender at discretion; the reply was, that they would sooner blow up the fortress, and perish in the ruins. The king

was then renewed with greater violence than ever.

The Greek fleet, commanded by Admiral Miowlis, had been for some time off the coast; and almost daily engagements occurred between the Greek and Egyptian vessels, in which the Greeks lost several men, without being able to do the enemy much mischief. At length the admiral resolved to give over these useless conflicts, and in future to attack the Egyptians only with fire-ships. On the 16th, he received information from an English frigate that the enemy was at anchor before Modon. Summoning then the captains of the fire-ships on board of his own vessel, he recalled to their memory all the services which they had already rendered to their country. "Now," said he, "a glorious opportunity presents itself, and this day will be one of the most illustrious for you and for Greece. The Turkish fleet is at anchor; go, and profit by the favourable occasion which God presents us of delivering us from our enemies."

At nightfall, six fire-ships, commanded by Andrew Pipinos, George the son of Theodosius, Anagnostas Dimamas, Demetrius Tsabelis, Anthony son of Vocos, and Marinis Spahis, advanced with courage and good order against the Egyptian fleet. The first attached itself to a frigate, which instantly took fire; the crews of the different vessels, in terror, cut their cables, and attempted to get out to sea, but the wind blowing on the shore, they were unable to effect their design, and the burning frigate ran against several of them, and set them on fire. Four other fire-ships now came up and set fire to a *large gabarre* and two corvettes; the sixth fire-

222 CAPITULATION OF NEW NAVARINO.

ship, which was the heaviest sailer, at length arrived, and set a brig on fire; the brig, running foul of another vessel, communicated the flames to it, as also to several Austrian vessels. The entire loss of the Egyptian fleet was one frigate, one gabarre, three corvettes, four brigs, and some transports.

Ibrahim, seeing a part of his fleet thus destroyed, became apprehensive for the rest. He knew that as long as Navarino held out, the Greek fleet would remain off the coast to harass and distress him, but that, if that fortress fell, it would probably return to port. Accordingly, he sent on the 18th to offer a capitulation. The garrison, who were now in want of provisions, accepted it. The terms, which were nearly the same as those given to the Old Castle, were as follows :—

“ 1. The garrison of Navarino is to give up the fortress, with all the artillery, ammunition, arms, and provisions in it, to the Egyptian officer commissioned for that purpose, on the day when the European vessels will be ready to receive the Greek troops.

“ 2. The garrison shall carry away their private baggage, and lay down their arms.

“ 3. The garrison shall be embarked on board of English and Austrian merchant vessels, and conveyed to Calamata.

“ 4. The commanders of the Amaranth and of the Austrian sloop of war, now in the port, shall be requested to have the goodness to escort the garrison as far as Calamata, to secure them against any insult.

“ 5. From this hour all hostilities shall cease on both sides.”

This capitulation also was violated by Ibrahim, who retained as prisoners, George Mavromichalis, son of the bey of Mani, and Panióco Iatraco. As the garrison defiled before the Arabs, "Look," said Soliman-bey, "look at these wretched children of liberty, what have they done in these four years? They have not built a single ship of war; they have not organized a single regiment; they have thought of nothing else but of quarrelling and destroying each other." Words but too true, though probably meant as flattering to Ibrahim and his adherents.*

After the fall of Navarino, the whole of the Morea demanded the liberation of Theodore Colocotronis, as the man most capable of saving his country. The government yielded to the demand of the people, and the old warrior was released from the convent in which he had been now confined for some months. On being liberated, he presented himself before the president, who was now at Hydra, whither he had retired, leaving the command of the troops to the Morea to Mavromichalis. "I have done my duty," said he, "to my country; the primates of the Morea had deceived me. I was a wild tree, planted by a public road; many passers-by, most of them robbers, reposed, during the storm, be-

* Soutzo. Details of the taking of Navarino, differing somewhat from those in the text, will be found in the collection of Memoirs named the "Picture of Greece in 1825." The writers of them, as well as M. Jourdain, were in the Morea at the time. This speech of Soliman-bey is, by Count Pecchio, said to have been spoken at the surrender of Old Navarino.

neath my shade, and hung from my branches their bags, full of plunder and iniquities."*

On his arrival at Napoli, the people, lately so hostile to him, received him with acclamations of joy. Several of the senators advanced to meet him. At the ceremony of his reconciliation with the government, the senator Spiridion Tricoopi made a speech, in which he entreated him to forget all that was past. "Returning from Hydra," said Colocotronis, "I cast my hatred into the sea; do you do the same. Bury in the fort of Napoli, where they have been so long digging in search of treasure—bury your hatreds and dissensions; that will be the true treasure to gain."†

It was the advice of Colocotronis to the government, to demolish the walls of Tripolitza, in order to deprive the enemy of all place of refuge, and oblige him to shut himself up in Coron, Modon, Navarino, and Patras; for, as he justly observed, if Ibrahim made himself master of Tripolitza in its present state, it would become the very centre and pivot of his future operations. The government took the matter into deliberation. Colocotronis set out for that town, but nothing was done.

Goora, as we have seen, had returned to Roumelia after the suppression of the civil war in the Morea. Here he found himself obliged to bear arms against his old commander, Odysseus, who, gained over by the promises of the Turks, had abandoned the cause of his country, and joined her enemies. He was now marching against Athens with 2000 Turks and 300 Greeks.

* Soutzo.

† Idem.

Goora met and gave him battle, with 3000 men, at the village of Giovanates, and forced him to retire. He then attacked the convent of St George, which is within a musket-shot of that village, and which was occupied by Yanaki, the brother of Odysseus, with 200 Greeks, and an equal number of Turks. Odysseus came out of the village to support it; a sanguinary conflict ensued, and, though the forces of Goora were superior in number, he was unable to carry the convent. He made many arrangements for attacking Giovanates; and Odysseus, finding that the succours which he had been promised did not arrive, despaired of being able to hold out much longer against the troops which assailed him. As he was a man whose passion for fame was keen, it is not impossible that he was goaded with remorse for having become a traitor to his country, and thus stained his character in the eyes of the present generation and of posterity, and that he wished to make some reparation to his conscience. He, therefore, adopted the resolution of surrendering at discretion to Goora, whose benefactor he had been. Accordingly, telling the Turks that he was going to hold a conference with his old fellow-soldier, Goora, in order to induce him also to embrace the cause of the sultan, he set out with an escort, composed of several Turks and some Greeks. When he came near the Grecian camp, taking advantage of his extraordinary swiftness, he ran for it, followed by the Greeks; the Turks, after firing at them to no purpose, went back to the village to announce the defection of Odysseus, which placed them in an exposed situation, as Goora now made dispositions to surround them and

cut off their retreat. Odysseus was placed in close confinement.*

This took place on the 20th April, and three days afterwards, Goora learned that 4000 Turks, who were marching from Zeitoon, under the command of Baba-pasha, to reinforce Odysseus, had halted, on hearing of the defection of that chief, at Turcochori. Goora instantly attacked Giovanates. The Turks fought with desperation; and having massacred the 300 Greeks belonging to Odysseus who were there, they took advantage of the night to make their way to the sea, through the camp of Goora, and they reached Zeitoon in safety. Goora sent Odysseus prisoner to Athens; he proceeded himself towards Negripont, to watch the enemy. Tassos directed his steps to Trikeri; the other captains went to occupy the defiles of Vasilika and Almona.

Peter Mavromichalis, when left in the chief command in the Morea, concentrated his forces at Calamata and at Nisé. Papa Flechas Dikas, placing himself at the head of a corps of 1500 men, advanced, on the 9th June, towards the village of Magnaki, which is situated in a plain about three leagues from Navarino. On his way

* Jourdain. In the "Picture of Greece," and in the New Monthly Magazine for 1826, the reader will find an account of the cavern of Mount Parnassus, in which this chief, with his family, and Mr Trelawney, an English gentleman, who had married the general's sister, took up his abode. It was shortly after the period of which we now write, that the nefarious attempt on the life of Trelawney was made by Fenton, the Scotchman, and a young Englishman. It is surely unjust to assert, as some have done, that Mavrocordatos knew and approved of the intended assassination.

thither, he encountered the advanced guard of Ibrahim, which was on its way for Calamata. The Greek commander took his position at the village of Pedemen, which is about a league distant. Next morning, he was attacked there by the enemy. He had it in his power to retreat, without the loss of a man; but, relying on the courage of his men, he would not decline the combat. The action lasted from daybreak till five o'clock in the afternoon. At one o'clock, 500 Spartiotes, commanded by Comodoorakis, and other captains, deserted an important position, which commanded that occupied by Papa Flechas himself; some others imitated the cowardly conduct of the Spartiotes; and when evening came, the gallant Papa found himself, and 300 faithful Arcadians, surrounded by the troops of Ibrahim. A firing being just then heard in the direction of Arcadia, Ibrahim, fearing that it might proceed from a reinforcement coming to the Greeks, gave orders to carry the village by assault. The Egyptians advanced with sabre and bayonet; the Greeks made a gallant resistance, but, overwhelmed with numbers, they sank in death. Papa Flechas, refusing to surrender, died sword in hand, like a hero. Only two Greeks escaped the carnage: they concealed themselves among the dead, and effected their escape during the night. This victory cost the Egyptians the lives of 800 men.

That same night the enemy advanced in three columns towards the town of Arcadia, distant five leagues from Pedemen. The inhabitants had abandoned it; and they found there only 250 persons, old men, women, and children. *These were forthwith massacred, by order of*

Ibrahim. Having burnt the town, he went on to Nise, which he also found deserted. Ibrahim burnt Nise also, and then directed his march to Calamata. The bey of Mani had taken his station here with a force of upwards of 5000* men; and had raised walls and other field fortifications, intending to offer a determined resistance. But as soon as Yatrakos the Spartan, and Dionysius Boorginios, two of his principal officers, beheld the Arabs, they and their men took to flight, leaving him almost alone. He remained there till the last moment, and narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. Calamata was entered by Ibrahim, and immediately burnt, like the other towns.

On the 13th, Ibrahim attacked and carried the monastery of Valanidia, defended by 1500 men; and on the 18th, he directed his march for Tripolitza. Colocotronis had taken care to occupy the defiles through which he expected the enemy to pass; but Ibrahim, who had with him some Turkish peasants of the Morea, was conducted by them across the mountains, where the villages of Sabazika and Polioni are situated, by a way which the Greeks deemed impracticable. The people of these villages had, however, established two posts of observation. Colocotronis had been visiting these posts with 150 men, when, at daybreak, he found himself engaged with the advance-guard of Ibrahim's army. He forced them to make a halt, and then occupying one of the posts of observation, he sent orders to his troops, who were at a distance of three leagues, to come and join him without

* Jourdain. Soutzo says 5000.

an instant's delay. The enemy had, meantime, gotten clear of the most dangerous and difficult spots. At noon, Yenecos Colocotronis came up, with 2000 men, and immediately took a position, where he kept in check the first division of the enemy. Gradually arrived Coliopoolos with 1200 men, Yatrakos with 1500 Spartans; 1000 Arcadians, and other reinforcements, came in, and the Greek army now counted 7000 combatants. Colocotronis, having made them all occupy good positions, gave orders to attack the enemy on all points. The combat was long, and might have been doubtful, but Yenecos Colocotronis, advancing too far, was surrounded by the enemy. In that position he sustained the conflict for thirty-six hours. At length he was forced to make his way through the masses of the enemy. The other positions were carried at the point of the bayonet, and Ibrahim remained master of the defiles. The loss of the Greeks in killed and prisoners, was about 2000 men; that of the Egyptians, who fought at a disadvantage, was probably much greater. The remainder of the Greek army disbanded, the men returning home to save their families. Colocotronis sent directions to the primates of Tripolitza to evacuate the town, and set fire to it, as Ibrahim was now within eight leagues of it, and had no further opposition to encounter. He himself, and his son, set out for their native province, to endeavour to raise new levies.

The directions of Colocotronis were not attended to; and Ibrahim, on entering Tripolitza, on the 22d June, found there abundance of provisions for his army. Having made a stay of only twenty-four hours, he set out on his

march for Argolis. As soon as it was known at Nauplia that he was advancing, the greatest terror and confusion prevailed ; nothing was to be seen but people hastening to get away from the toils and privations of a siege, and the merchants embarking their goods for Syra. The government had either not had time, or had neglected the measures for putting the town in a state of defence. Its walls were in a ruinous state—the batteries were not in a better condition—the carriages of the cannon were broken, and the guns dismounted—the Boorghi, or little fort on the sea, was in the same plight as the rest.

There were at this time a good number of French and Italian officers at Napoli, but the government had preferred intrusting commands to native Greeks. The only regular regiment was commanded by M. Rhodius, whom we have already had occasion to mention more than once; the direction of the artillery was committed to Emanuel Calergi ; and his cousin, Vaglianos, commanded at Palamidi. The inspector-general of the army was a merchant of Trieste, named Paraskeva. These persons, whatever may have been their courage and patriotism, were, as may readily be supposed, deficient in military skill and knowledge. The French general, Roche, who was there as the representative of the Philhellenic committee of Paris, had, therefore, been for some time urgent with the government to commit the charge of the artillery, and the command of the regiment of infantry, to the French colonel, Fabvier. Hitherto they had given no heed to this advice ; but on the approach of Ibrahim, they consented to appoint Fabvier

to the office of superintending the repairs and management of the batteries, with direction to take the command of them in case of necessity ; but, at the same time, Count Metaxas was named commander-in-chief. This minister forthwith made the embarkation be stopped, had the cisterns filled with water, and ordered the city gates to be shut.*

On the 24th, the enemy's advanced parties were in the neighbourhood of the Mills of Lerna. General Roche, whom the government had charged with the defence of Napoli, immediately crossed over to the Mills to hold a conference there with Hypsilantis and Mavromichális, on the means of defending them ; and on his return in the afternoon, he sent a reinforcement thither. The number of the Greeks under Hypsilantis for the defence of the Mills, was but 227 ; and the force advancing to attack them consisted of 5600 foot and 600 horse, with two small pieces of cannon and a howitzer.

Hypsilantis disposed his men in the following manner :—100 men were posted to the right, and an equal number to the left, of the Mills, extended a little on the declivity of the hill ; the remainder of his force was placed behind

* M. Jourdain makes this disinclination to give the chief commands to Frenchmen, a heavy article of accusation against Mavrocordatos and the *faction*, as he calls them. But may it not be more rationally supposed, that the object was rather to avoid offending the vanity of the Greeks, by giving offices of trust to foreigners ? It is also well known, that the Greeks in general had not the very highest opinion of the military and other adventurers who came to take a part in their affairs. Their constant language was, that all that they wanted from foreign nations *was money*.

the walls, in the houses, and in the gardens. Several mistics were at anchor near the shore to protect the Greeks ; but the prince directed them to keep at some distance, lest their proximity might encourage cowardice. As the position which the prince occupied was nearly surrounded by the marsh and the sea, it was very strong. The weakest point was that opposite to the hill.

At half past four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy advanced in three columns against the Mills; one column moved towards the hill, to take the Mills in the rear ; a second came along by the road to Kivéry ; the third, which was the strongest, posted itself as a reserve in the plain on the road to Argos.

At five o'clock, the engagement became general. The column which came along the Kivéry road vainly attempted to force the Mills ; the Greeks sustained its efforts heroically ; and as it probably had not expected to encounter marshes, and had to manœuvre on a very narrow road, it was three times driven back ; and at a little after six o'clock, it was put completely to the rout by the fire of the mistics and of the Greek infantry. The Greeks pursued them a little way. Shortly afterwards the enemy rallied, and moved behind the hill, and made a halt there. Had he gone on along the beach, he might, though exposed to the fire from the mistics, have reached the Mills ; but his ignorance made him persist in attempting to force an entrance by the road of Kivéry.

Meantime, the enemy's central column had reached the foot of the hill, and they were now fighting in the gardens. The Greeks went re-

inforcements from the two wings to the centre. At three quarters past six o'clock, the firing abated. It was renewed with greater vivacity than ever at seven o'clock; reinforcements arrived continually on both sides, and the number of the Greeks now amounted to 600 men. At a quarter past seven o'clock, the Arabs were seen entering the Mills by the road of Argos, and again quitting them in disorder; at half-past seven o'clock, the beaten column again made its appearance on the hill, and opened a fire on the Greek centre. The Greeks then, supported by the guns of the mistics, charged the enemy, dislodged him, and put him completely to the rout. The Arabs were pursued; they rallied, and made as if they would return to the charge. They, however, continued their retreat, and a broken fire was kept up in the plain till nine at night.*

Only four dead bodies were found on the plain; but the loss of the Arabs must have been considerable. It is the custom of the Moham-medans to carry away their slain, so that it is only in cases of complete defeat, that their exact loss can in general be ascertained. That of the Greeks was inconsiderable, as they were well covered by walls and other defences, while the Egyptians were collected in dense masses, in small spaces, exposed to the fire of the infantry and artillery.

During the night, the Greeks continued to harass the enemy on their retreat, as far as the mills on the Erasinus, half way to Argos.

- * These details are from Jourdain, who was at Napoli at the time.

234 DEFENCE OF THE MILLS OF LERNA.

Here they took up a position, putting the river between them and the Greeks.

In the morning of the 25th,* the enemy sent a detachment of sixty horsemen to burn the village of Kivery. They went a great way round, in order to escape observation; and, having accomplished their object, were returning to the camp, when they were attacked and put to rout by the Greeks from the Mills. Their loss, however, was but one man. That evening the enemy pitched his advanced posts beyond Argos, and sent some cavalry to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Napoli. At break of day next morning, a party of the Egyptian horse appeared on the road to Thivery, an old arsenal of the Venetians. Some Greeks, who were lying in ambush at Loria, set fire to the village, and then joined a detachment of their own cavalry, who were advancing to attack the Turks. On arriving at Loria, the infidels turned off the waters which supply Napoli; but the Greeks, when they had afterwards repulsed them, restored the water-courses.

Meantime a column of the enemy, consisting of about 2000 foot and some horse, was marching upon Paleo-castro (*Tiryns*), where they took up a position at about six o'clock in the morning. They instantly sent off some horse to support those who had been sent to reconnoitre. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, the Greeks again attacked the Egyptians, and drove them to the foot of Mount St Elias, which lies between Tiryns and Napoli. Some shots were

* It was on this day that Mr Emerson witnessed the barbarous and cold-blooded massacre of 200 Turkish prisoners at Hydra.

fired from the batteries of the town and Palamidi, but were so ill directed, that one of the balls fell among the Greeks, where, however, it fortunately did no harm.*

At half past eight, the enemy commenced his retreat, setting fire to all the houses and villages. Proceeding then to Argos, he burnt that town, and soon after took up his former position at the mills of the Erasinus. The whole plain was now one conflagration, every place that was combustible being in flames.

Ibrahim, having received intelligence, on the night of the 26th, that Colocotronis, having collected an army in Caritena, was advancing, at the head of 4000 men, to get between him and Tripolitza, determined to lose no time in effecting his return to that town. Accordingly, next morning, having manœuvred for some time on the Erasinus, he commenced his march for Tripolitza, taking a different road from that by which he had come. By this means he escaped Colocotronis; and he reached Tripolitza, after burning all the villages on his way. Foiled in his project, the Peloponnesian chief established a camp of 4600 men at Vervenis; and, leaving it under the command of Hypsilantis, returned to Caritena, to make new levies.

* Or M. Jourdain would have been sure to tell us. The commander at Palamidi was, he says, M. Londres, one of the *faction*, and he acted contrary to the directions of Fabvier.

CHAPTER XIII.

Engagements in the Neighbourhood of Tripolitza—Final Defeat and Dispersion of the Greeks—Successes of the Greeks at Sea—Attempt to burn the Egyptian Fleet at Alexandria—Act for placing Greece under the protection of Great Britain—Protest against it of Messrs Rochs and Washington—M. Jourdain ordered to leave the Country—Death of Odysseus.

HYPsilANTIS, after the departure of Colocotronis, immediately took up a position on the hills round Tripolitza, to observe the motions of Ibrahim, who had shut himself up in that town, and to endeavour, if possible, to cut off his communication with Navarino and the other fortresses.

Having observed that the enemy was in the habit of coming out of the town during the night, and spreading over the country for forage and provision, Hypsilantis sent, on the evening of the 19th July, a corps of 700 men, to take a position at the villages of Voonos, Rizes, and Peli, in order to surround any corps which might appear in the plain. The situation of these villages, which nearly form a semicircle, was extremely favourable for the execution of this plan.

Next morning, at break of day, a corps of 1200 Arabs appeared on the plain; the Greeks immediately advanced to meet them, and the Prince came down, with 500 men, to share in the action. He expected the forces, therefore, to be pretty equal on both sides. After exchan-

ling a few shots, the Greeks, headed by Hypsilantis, charged the enemy, sword in hand, put them to the rout, and chased them under the walls of Tripolitza. One hundred Arabs lay dead on the field, thirty were made prisoners, three cavalry horses, and sixty horses and mules of burden, remained in the hands of the victors, who had lost only a few men. Among these were two gallant captains, Guigas and Policronis: the former, having taken two Arabs prisoners, as he held them, summoned a third to surrender his arms; the Arab, feigning obedience, came close to him, and shot him with his pistol; Policronis was surrounded by the Arabs, among whom his impetuosity had carried him, and cut to pieces by them.

Not one of the Arabs would, probably, have escaped, were it not that the captain who had been stationed at Pieli had abandoned that important position on the night that he was placed there. This he did through spleen, in consequence of a dispute with his colleagues; and thus, on this, as on several other occasions, the welfare, and even the salvation, of the Greek nation and cause, were postponed to petty private animosities. As for the brave and patriotic Hypsilantis, the present affair justly gave new lustre to the military fame which he had already acquired.

Next day, the Prince took a position, with 800 men, at Doliana. Zacharopoolos, and the two brothers, Hajee-George and Hajee-Stephen, with the rest of the army, amounting to upwards of 3000 men, stationed themselves at *Acooria*, in order to cover Vervenis and Sparta.

On the 22d, a corps of the enemy, of about

1000 men, of whom 160 were horse, came and attacked the Prince in his position. The action, which commenced at one o'clock in the afternoon, was a warm one; but it lasted only half an hour. The enemy, leaving upwards of sixty men on the field of battle, directed his course to Acooria. At his approach, the two brothers took to flight, drawing with them the troops which they commanded; the brave Zacharopoolos remained with but fifty men; after making a heroical defence, he was obliged to yield to numbers, and retire. Meantime, Hypsilantis was advancing to take the enemy in flank; but, as the Arabs had possessed themselves of Acooria before he came up, he was obliged to retreat on Vervenis. Here, however, he could not halt, as the cavalry of the enemy entered it at the same moment with him. He sent his troops to take up a position near it, and himself and his two aides-de-camp remained at the extremity of the village. Some of the Arab horsemen, perceiving them, made a charge at them, and pursued them to the position of the Greeks.

Colocotronis, who was advancing by forced marches, arrived just at the time when the two brothers Hajee* were flying. He tried in vain to bring the fugitives back; and at nightfall he had only succeeded in rallying about 500 men. With these he returned to the charge, along with the Prince and Zacharopoolos.

The Arabs had not been able to make them-

* These brothers, according to M. Jourdain, had been merchants at Constantinople, and knew nothing of military affairs; "but," says he, "they are of the Fanal; and that title avails more than all possible talents in the eyes of Prince Mavrocordatos and his faction."

selves masters of Vervenis ; for twelve Greeks, who had shut themselves up in a tower there, at the commencement of the retreat, sustained their assaults during the remainder of the day, killed thirty-six of them, and succeeded in forcing them to quit the village. They took up a position on the road leading to Tripolitza ; but the arrival of the Prince, Colocotronis, and Zacharopoulos, obliged them to retreat, without carrying off their dead, whose arms and spoils became the property of the twelve brave men who had made so noble a stand against them. The loss of the Greeks, in all the different affairs of this day, was about 300 men.

On the 25th, John Crijalis collected a body of 2000 men near Calamata. Having made an energetic harangue to them, he led them, in the night, to Nisé, where they surprised 1200 Egyptians, whom they massacred, with the exception of some horsemen, who escaped, and of thirty-five, whom they made prisoners. In the beginning of August, Demetrius Calergis, and Immanuel Antoniades, having formed at Napoli a battalion of brave Cretans, embarked for Candia ; and, on the 14th, they took the fortresses of Grambusos and Kyssamos.*

On the 5th August, the enemy made a sortie from Tripolitza, and utterly routed the Greek army, pursuing it to Vedin, within five leagues of Caritena. Young Colocotronis, with 1200 men, sustained the shock for some time, but was forced to yield to numbers ; the other corps fled at the sight of the Arabs. The enemy's cavalry

* Soutzo. Jourdain says nothing of these events ; but the latter is noticed by Mr Humphries, in the "*Picture of Greece in 1825.*"

made a dreadful carnage among them. The loss of the Greeks was 1500 men.

This defeat completely broke the power of the Greeks. Hypsilantis and young Colocotronis managed to rally some thousands of men, and once more occupied the heights about Tripolitza; but, on the 12th, their forces disbanded, and returned to their homes.* Ibrahim immediately, leaving a small force at Tripolitza, marched into the province of Caritena, burning and destroying every thing in his route. He then directed his course to Corinth, by the way of Argos. Napoli was again thrown into consternation, and Metaxas tried in vain to bring together some men for the defence of the Mills of Lerna. Ibrahim, however, changed his mind, and returned to Tripolitza.

At sea, the Greeks still retained their usual superiority. On the 2d June, their fleet came up with that of the Turks, at a place named Little Bojas. Constantine Canáris immediately attached his fire-ship to a frigate. The Turkish vessel was instantly in a blaze. The other ships commenced an active firing, to keep her off, and then dispersed, to get away from the Greeks, who pursued them in every direction. Manolis Bootas brought his fire-ship alongside of a Turkish corvette, and set her on fire; this increased the dismay and confusion, which was farther augmented by the explosion of the frigate at the same moment. Some of the Turkish ships ran

* In consequence, by M. Jourdain's account, of their having heard of the plan of putting Greece under the protection of England. "Since they are giving Greece to the English," said the soldiers, according to him and his echo, Soutzo, "let them come and defend it."

out to sea, others made for the shore, where the crews burnt two brigs, to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

On the 4th August, three fire-ships, commanded by Canáris, Vocos, and Bootas, accompanied by the brigs of Emmanuel Tombasis and Anthony Criesis, left Hydra, and made sail, under Austrian colours, for Alexandria, with the design of destroying the Egyptian fleet in that port. On the evening of the sixth day from their departure, they were off the coast of Egypt; and Canáris sailed at once into the harbour. Having detained the pilot who came off to visit him, he made direct for the admiral's ship and four frigates which were at anchor before the palace of the vizier. Just then a breeze sprung up from the land, and drove him off. He then made for another group of vessels, set his ship on fire, and got into his boat; but the fire-ship took a wrong direction, and no mischief resulted. At the sight of the flames, a brig and some boats set out in pursuit of him; but he reached the Greek brigs in safety, and got off. Next day, the Greeks burnt an Egyptian brig; on the 15th, they took a galliot; and on the 25th, they arrived at Hydra. This was the first time that the brave Canáris had failed in any thing he undertook; and his want of success on this occasion was said to have been chiefly owing to the conduct of the other commanders, who did not follow him into the port, as they had promised.*

The members of the Greek government had been for some time aware that, without foreign

* *Soutzo, Lauvergne.*

assistance, it would be utterly impossible for them to maintain the contest much longer against the forces of the Ottoman empire. As we have already had occasion to observe, the people in general wished to have a king who should be unconnected with the feuds, and local interests, and jealousies, of their primates and captains, of whose tyranny they were heartily weary. It does not appear that a republican form of government, such as their *soi-disant* foreign friends were evermore dinning into their ears, was acceptable to, or conceivable by any, except a few scholars, who were acquainted with the history of ancient Greece. Their affection for Russia had been very much cooled by the indifference which she had displayed towards them; and France and England were the powers towards which the eyes of the different parties were directed. Mavrocordátos and the islanders were for placing the country under the protection of Great Britain; the party opposed to them were for conferring the crown of Greece on the Duke of Orleans, or one of his sons. Aided by the presence of the English commodore Hamilton, the former party prevailed; and, in the month of July, an act was made, and signed by "the clergy, the representatives, the chiefs, civil and military, by land and by sea, of the Greek nation," placing it under the protection of Great Britain.

The following is the substance of that act:—

It first stated, that the Greeks had taken up arms in virtue of the imprescriptible rights of man to property, religion, and liberty; and had maintained the contest during four years against the colossal forces of Asia and Africa.

2. That they had thereby acquired a title to an independent existence. 3. That the agents of some of the continental powers had, on various occasions, acted according to the dictates of a policy injurious to the Greek nation. 4. That several of these agents are endeavouring by their emissaries in the interior, to draw the Greeks into new engagements, contrary to the interests of those powers. 5. That the Greek navy meets with impediments on the part of the admirals of some powers, which violate the neutrality proclaimed by their courts in the congresses of Laybach and Verona. 6. That Christians take arms in favour of the sectaries of the Koran against the followers of the Gospel, and instruct and lead hordes of barbarians to devastate Greece. 7. That the government of Great Britain is the only one which observes the neutrality in its purity, disdaining to imitate the others in the evident machinations which they employ in Greece, at Constantinople, and in Egypt. 8. That the neutrality of Great Britain does not suffice to secure the Greeks from a persecution, which increases every day. 9. That it is not the decay of their strength, nor the want of resolution, which has hitherto kept the Greeks from attaining the glorious object which they have set before them, but the causes noticed above; and still more, their never having had a government which was superior to passions, and could prevent divisions. 10. That in the present contest, the Greeks must either come off conquerors, or be totally annihilated. 11. That, as by the great favour of Providence, the forces of his Britannic Majesty are near

their coasts, it is their duty, in the present state of their affairs, to have recourse to them, as well as to the philanthropy of that powerful government. "For these reasons," they add, "and to assure the Greek nation the stability of a political existence, and the sacred rights of a free power, we prescribe, determine, and will the following law:—

"Art. 1. The Greek nation, by virtue of the present act, has voluntarily placed the sacred deposit of its liberty, its national independence, and its political existence, under the absolute protection of Great Britain.

"Art. 2. The present organic act of the Greek nation shall be accompanied by a memorial, addressed to the respectable government of his Britannic Majesty.

"Art. 3. The presidents of the extraordinary councils (or chambers) of the state, by land and by sea, shall immediately execute the present law."

It cannot, perhaps, be affirmed, that all the assertions here made were strictly true; for it might not be easy to prove, for instance, that the rules of neutrality had been strictly observed by the English, when the conduct of the government of the Ionian Isles had been so flagrantly partial in the commencement of the struggle; and the consular agents of the Levant Company, particularly the gentleman who was stationed at Patras, had on all occasions made themselves the active tools and spies of the Turks, without any disapprobation of their conduct being expressed by the British government; and, lastly, when so many Maltese vessels, under British colours, were engaged in the

transport of the troops of Ibrahim. But England was, beyond doubt, the power, if she had the inclination, best able at that time to save the Greeks; and subsequent events have showed that the men who conceived the idea of seeking her protection, could not justly be called a faction, and traitors to their country. In effect, it was England who eventually saved Greece, when every hope of her being able to achieve her independence had vanished. But a great outcry was made at the time by those who were envious and jealous of England; and the French general Roche, and an American, named Washington, made, in the capacity of deputies of the Philhellenic societies of France and the United States, a protest against this act of the government—a piece of assumption certainly not often paralleled, and to which the government made no reply, but the one which it merited,—the silence of contempt; though, according to M. Jourdain, the protest of these two important personages produced a great sensation at Napoli.

M. Jourdain himself, who had a wonderful fondness for writing letters and volunteering political counsels, of whose political wisdom and sagacity, however, the notable treaty with the sovereign order of St John of Jerusalem furnishes abundant proof, published in the journals, on the 30th July, a statement of the relative conditions of the Morea in 1822, and in the present year, in which he wisely infers, that because the Greeks had beaten in the former year 30,000 Turkish peasants and country gentlemen, *they will be able now to conquer an army disciplined and directed by European officers;*

which army he *veraciously* states at 10,000 men, though, according to his own account, the first force which landed amounted to that number, and it was afterwards reinforced by 12,000 men. Not content with this, he addressed a rather impertinent letter to the government on the subject of the act, in which he accuses the *faction* of having, under the guidance of an infernal demon, sold Greece to England; for this able politician seems to have believed himself, or to have wished to make others believe, that the loans made on such usurious terms to the Greeks by the gamblers of the Stock Exchange, were a sort of purchase-money of Greek independence, paid by the British government, who, as every one knows, had as much to do with them as the French government had to do with M. Jourdain's proffer of his sword and his counsels to the cause of Greece. The very proper reply made to this letter by the executive, was placing its author under arrest, and then ordering him to leave the country; and hence arose the rancour against Mavrocordátos shown by him upon all occasions.

On the 17th June, this indefatigable adviser wrote a letter to Ibrahim-pasha, informing him how the conferring the pashalic of the Morea had been done through the advice of the British cabinet, with a design of overturning the power which he had established in Egypt, and of obtaining eventual possession of that country, when he would have wasted his treasures and his troops in the futile attempt at conquering the Morea; a project in which the sapient M. Jourdain assures him he will never succeed. In fine, he counsels the pasha to acknowledge it

once the independence of the Greeks, and then to return home and assert that of Egypt, before he was entangled too far in the webs of the perfidious cabinet of St James's. Ibrahim, however, did not think fit to follow this good advice ; and, in about a fortnight afterwards, there was no Greek army to oppose him in the field.

Nothing now remained to the Greeks in the Morea but Corinth and the two Napolis ; the remaining fortresses were in the hands of the infidels, and the towns and villages had been everywhere burnt by them. Resheed-pasha was besieging Mesolonghi, but the Turks had not made any attempts since the failure of the treason of Odysseus in Eastern Greece.

Odysseus, after his surrender of himself at Giovanates, had been confined in the citadel at Athens. He had still many partisans ; and, their number increasing daily, a mutiny was apprehended among the soldiers. Goora was uncertain how to act. He had once been fondly attached to the captive chief, and had received many kindnesses from him. His captains never ceased pressing on his mind the dangers which he ran if he did not take severe measures against him. In a moment of impatience, he said to them, " Do with him what you will." They went to the Acropolis in the night, drew Odysseus, under feigned pretexts, to the edge of the precipice, and pushed him down the rocks. He was killed by the fall, and next day the report was spread that he had met his death in attempting to escape.*

* Jourdain.

CHAPTER XIV.

Fortifications of Messolonghi—Rushood-pasha lays Siege to it—Arrival of the Ottoman Fleet before it—Terms offered by Rushood—Answer—Terms offered again—Result.

ALTHOUGH the repulse of the army of Omer Brionnes from before Mesolonghi in 1823, the Greeks, convinced of the importance of that place as one of the bulwarks of the Peloponnese, particularly against attacks from the side of Albania, began to put it into a more perfect state of defence. The works were executed under the superintendence of an Italian engineer named CAVALLI, and in the space of three months from the departure of Omer Brionnes, they were brought to a termination. All the sides of the town which are not washed by the sea were surrounded by a rampart faced with masonry and defended by two bastions and other necessary works.*

The municipality has a share in all the acts of the defence, and in these works of defence against tyranny and barbarism was as it were, placed under the protection of one of those illustrious men, of their own and other nations, who have written so gloriously in the sacred cause of liberty,

* In our account of the siege of Mesolonghi, our chief authority has been the excellent narrative of that siege by the English Consul. As there was a regular journal published at that time in Mesolonghi, under the direction of Dr. Meyer, a Swiss or German physician, the events of the siege were daily made known.

by having his name bestowed upon it. The bastion of Mark Botzaris occupied the centre of the ramparts, which formed a septagon about the town ; on proceeding thence westward, one met the tower of Coray, the bastion of Franklin, the towers of William Tell and Kosciusko, and the battery of Kyriacooli. At 150 fathoms from this last, which was on the edge of the basin, rose, in the islet of Marmoros, the battery of Vice-admiral Sachtoori. Eastward from the bastion of Botzaris was the battery of Macris the *Ætolian* chief, the *lunette* of William the great Prince of Orange, the battery of Rhigas, and the *tenaille* of Montalembert. Other works, in different parts, bore the names of Scanderbeg, Canáris, Ignacius bishop of Arta, and of Byron. The whole was surrounded by a broad and deep fosse, out before which was another ; and to deprive the besiegers of all means of defence and annoyance, as far as it was possible, the Greeks so far overcame their superstition as to demolish the churches of St Demetrius and St Athanasius, which stood without their fortifications.

In the beginning of 1825, Mehemet Resheed, who had been made Valesi of Roomelia, received orders from the Porte to reduce *Ætolia*, and unite his forces with those of Ibrahim-pasha for the conquest of the Morea. Resheed-pasha, though devoid of military skill, was brave, active, persevering, and covetous of fame. Under his command were the Albanian captains Tahir Abas, Hagos Bessiaris, Ismaël Pliassa, and Banoosis Sevranis, and his army was estimated at 40,000 men.

On the 5th April, intelligence arrived at Mesolonghi that the ser-asker was passing through

the defiles of the Macrinoros, the Greeks who had been stationed to guard them, having fled at his approach. A feeble attempt was made to stop him at the passage of the Acheloüs; and, on the 22d, the Greek troops were obliged to retire to Anatolico and Mesolonghi. The chief command, in this last town, was given to general Stoorarris and Noti Botzaris; and the other generals were directed to place their forces in Anatolico, in the fort near that town, and in the islet of Poros, which secures the communication between Anatolico and Mesolonghi. As, however, the ser-asker contented himself with blockading the former place, Noti Botzaris soon returned to Mesolonghi.

The garrison of Mesolonghi consisted of about 4000 men; and, besides Noti Botzaris and Stoorarris, the valiant generals Macris, Zongas, Dimotsalis, and Liacatas, aided to defend it with their arms and their counsels. A local junta, consisting of three members, John Papa-Diamontopoolo, George Cánavo, and Demetrius Theméli, had the chief direction of all affairs, civil and military.

On the morning of the 27th, the first division of the Moslem troops came in view of Mesolonghi. This corps of 6000 men was commanded by Ismaël Pliassa and Resheed's kiaya. Nothing but some slight skirmishes took place till the 5th May, when the ser-asker arrived with some more troops; and the trenches were regularly opened before the town, under the direction of some European engineers. His first parallel, 300 fathoms from the ramparts, extended from the *tenaille* of Montalembert to the battery Kyriacoolis. He then raised a redoubt opposite the

curtain between the batteries of Macris and Rhigas, and another fifty fathoms nearer, opposite that of Franklin. The ser-asker, having only four pieces of cannon, had sent to Yoosoof at Patrás for some artillery, which that pasha promised to forward. It, however, had not yet arrived; and as provisions were beginning to run short in the Turkish camp, which now contained 14,000 men, Resheed resolved to commence the bombardment with a single mortar, which had been brought from Crioneri, in hopes of terrifying the garrison into a surrender. Loud shouts accompanied the flight of each bomb, which, however, did little mischief in the town, and a well-directed fire from the besieged was kept up on the lines and camp of the ser-asker. The Greeks also strengthened their defences, by constructing a covered way in front of their fortifications.

The Roomeliotes and Sooliotes, who had quitted the camp at Navarino, fixed themselves, in the end of May, between Livadia and Salona. They were commanded by Costas Botzaris, Kitsos Tsavellas, and Karaïskaki. This intelligence, which reached Mesolonghi on the 30th May, filled the garrison with joy, as it was expected that these troops, joined by reinforcements from Boeotia and Attica, would be able to effect a powerful diversion in favour of the besieged town.

Resheed had by this time run a second parallel, within 150 fathoms of the ramparts, and erected two new batteries, one against the north side of the town, and the other against the bastion Botzaris; cannon and mortars were now arrived from Patrás and Crioneri; and a con-

stant, but ill-directed fire, was kept up on the town. The peasants of Macedonia and Thessaly, whom, to the number of 600 or 700, the ser-asker had dragged from their homes, to toil in the trenches, where they met with every species of injury and insult from the fanatic and brutal Mussulmans, were continually making their escape, and carrying intelligence to the besieged of the designs and condition of the enemy. As the number of the latter was augmented every day, the Greeks found it necessary to erect two new batteries; one of these, placed between the bastion Franklin and the tower William Tell, was named Tekeli, and the other, between the Franklin and the tower of Coray, received the appellation of Normann. The cannon of the town were well served; and the grape-shot and musketry of the besieged caused the enemy considerable loss.

The bombs of the infidels, however, killed several persons in the town, and their cannon had made some slight breaches in the walls. Resheed gave orders to cut down the olive-trees about the town, to form fascines, and gabions were filled with earth, to fill up the trenches, preparatory to a general assault. Two deserters conveyed the intelligence to the besieged, who received it with expressions of joy.

After some days, the fire of the enemy was observed to slacken. The Greeks, at first, were disposed to attribute this to the circumstance of the army being weakened, as appeared to them, by the ser-asker being obliged to dispatch a part of it to oppose Karaïskaki in Phocis; but it soon turned out that it had proceeded from want of projectiles, as it was found, that, instead

of bullets, the Turkish batteries were sending into the town pyramidal pieces of stone. This, however, did not long continue: the ser-asker soon received abundant supplies, and the firing was resumed as vigorously as ever. His trenches continually approached the walls; and an immense mound of earth, raised opposite the battery Normann, announced to the Greeks the intention of the ser-asker to effect a breach on that side. Their unanimous resolution was, to die rather than yield; and the arrival of a division of the Hellenic fleet, which declared the gulf of Corinth in a state of blockade, and the intelligence of the naval victory gained by Sachtooris, on the 1st June, off the isle of Andros, filled them with hopes of speedy relief. A new battery was erected near that of Normann; all ranks, sexes, and ages, cheerfully laboured at the work; the battery received the appellation Miowli. Resheed, on his side, constructed an eighth battery, opposite to that of Rhigas.

On the night of the 20th June, a perfect silence reigned in the Turkish camp, and the garrison of the town were unsuspecting of any attempt on the part of the enemy. Suddenly, about two o'clock in the morning, a noise, like that of troops marching, was heard on the left end of the ramparts; the soldiers at the batteries Sachtooris and Kyriacoolis, suspecting it to proceed from the enemy, stood on the alert. Presently, a body of about 600 men was discovered within musket-shot; the two batteries, seconded by those of Kosciusko and William Tell, opened a discharge of grape and balls upon them, and the Turks, who were advancing *through the lagoons*, in the hopes of taking the

two batteries by surprise, instantly turned their backs and fled. When daylight came, some of the soldiers got into monoxyla, and went on shore, where they found arms, cartridges, and provisions scattered about, and marks of blood, testifying that several of the enemy had been killed or wounded. Among the former, it afterwards appeared, was an European officer of artillery.

The Greeks, having learned from some prisoners that the ser-asker was bent on making the assault as soon as possible, and being reinforced by the generals Mitsos Contoyannis, Yannis Rangos, and Lampos Veicos, with their troops from the Morea, resolved to attack him in his lines. Accordingly, when, on the night of the 2d July, the explosion of a mine, which had been run under the advanced posts of Resheed, had given the appointed signal, the garrison rushed out on three sides, under favour of the fire of the batteries, and attacked the Turkish lines. They dispersed those who were set to guard the trenches, killing upwards of 200 of them, and returned with five prisoners and seven standards, having on their own side had but three men killed, and four wounded. The besiegers, however, two days afterwards, established themselves on the edge of the fosse in advance of the Franklin, and pushed on their works with great activity. They demolished all the houses on the plain for materials; they cut down all the olive-trees, and tore up the vines. Out of mere wantonness, they destroyed the standing corn all over the country, laid waste the gardens, and burnt those vines which were too distant to be conveyed to the camp.

The toils and privations which they underwent greatly dispirited the soldiers of Resheed-pasha, and desertion became frequent among them. To keep up their spirits, he made them lavish promises, and assured them that he would very soon give orders for the assault. Gabions and fascines were collected in great quantities in the camp, and a number of scaling ladders were constructed with timber brought from the villages of the plain. The Greeks, on their side, were animated to perseverance, by a letter from Colocotronis and the other chiefs of the Peloponnesus, dated from Levídi, on the 20th June (O. S.), informing them that Ibrahim was closely blocked up in Tripolitzá, where he would soon be reduced to surrender, and that then the Peloponnesian army would hasten to the relief of Mesolonghi.

The hopes of the garrison experienced a great damp when, at sunrise, on the 10th July, they beheld the sea covered with ships displaying the Ottoman flag. The Turkish fleet consisted of eight frigates, twelve corvettes, and fourteen smaller vessels. Its appearance was hailed with shouts of joy by the besiegers, who now pushed on their works with redoubled activity. A battery of sixty pounders was raised against the eastern side of the ramparts on the 14th; after losing a great number of men, they extended their mound of earth to within ten paces of the Franklin, and began to fill up the advanced fosse with sand and branches of olive. The same day, their third parallel on the east side was completed.

The Greeks erected new batteries, from one of which they discharged red-hot balls against.

the parapet of the third parallel, and in a few moments burnt the gabions which composed it, and forced the besiegers to retire from it. A mine was sprung near the bastion Botzaris, chiefly with the design of filling the fosse in that part. The Greeks immediately came down to examine the effects of the explosion, and a smart firing of musketry succeeded between them and the advanced posts of the besiegers. The cannon and mortars thundered on the town; the grape-shot and balls of the besieged mowed down the soldiers and workmen of the enemy. The Turks, however, soon reached the edge of the fosses, which they instantly began to fill.

As the communication of the town with the sea was now cut off by the presence of the Turkish fleet, the want of provisions and of ammunition began to be felt in Mesolonghi. The Turks, aware of this condition of the garrison, entertained hopes of inducing them to agree to a capitulation. Each day, some of them approached the walls, and entered into conversation with those whom they saw there. They vaunted the good faith and moderation of their chiefs, and advised the Greeks to treat. These usually replied by daring them to the assault, now that every thing was ready for it; and at times their answer was a discharge of musketry.

The Ottoman fleet, which had gone to Patras, having returned, attempted to effect a landing in the islets of the Procopanistes, and having failed, the admiral directed his efforts against Vassiladis, on which the Greeks had a small fort, on which he opened an ineffectual fire. Seeing that his shot took no effect, he resolved to land.

in the little isle of Aissotis, the wood necessary for the construction of a battery, which might play to more purpose on the fort. As the channel of Vassiladis was dangerous for his boats, he made his men carry some of them on their backs across the shallows; and by this means he succeeded in launching several armed boats in the harbour. This rendering the station which was in the Procepanistes useless, those who had been placed in it for its defence retired to Mesolonghi. The huts of the fishers throughout the shallows were soon in flames; the Turkish frigates bombarded Vassiladis, while a flotilla of 36 boats, many of them carrying mortars, advanced towards the town, and opened a fire on it. Soon all the ships of war, except that of the admiral, and nine others, departed and went out of sight of Mesolonghi.

On the 23d July, notwithstanding the constant fire of the Greeks, and though they had repeatedly burnt the olive-trunks and fascines used by the enemy, the fosses were half filled in several places, and the incessant cannonade from the flotilla and batteries of the enemy carried destruction into all parts of the town. While the garrison was in hourly expectation of the assault being given, it was announced to the generals that Tahir Abas, and six other Mohammedan chiefs, sought to be admitted into the town, to hold a conference with them. On being introduced into the council of the Christian chiefs, the deputies said that Resheed had, at their desire, suspended the order which he was about to give for the assault; that *they*, as being the personal friends of many of the brave men *who defended the town*, had interceded with

the ser-asker, and induced him to offer honourable terms to the garrison; and that they hoped their old friends would not prove more unyielding than the pasha had been. They then made known the proposed terms. The instantaneous and laconic reply was, "War!"

On the return of the deputies, the preparations for the assault were resumed with greater diligence than before. Willing to try once more the effect of negotiation, the commander of the flotilla wrote to the garrison to propose a treaty, the answer given was, "Arms are the treaties between Greeks and Turks."

To check the firing of the flotilla, which did great mischief to the town, the Greeks erected seven batteries on the beach, which soon obliged the Turkish boats to keep a respectful distance. The communication with Anatolico was still open, notwithstanding the presence of the Turkish flotilla; and a constant intercourse was maintained with that place by night, through the canal of Vassiladis, which islet the Turks had not been able to conquer. An attempt on the post in the little isle of Clissova was equally unsuccessful.

Behind the two bastions and two batteries, against which the attacks of the enemy were chiefly directed, the Greeks formed counter fosses and intrenchments; and they made every exertion to impede the progress of the works of the besiegers. It was, however, much apprehended that they had succeeded in running a mine; and on the 28th these apprehensions were verified: the ground shook, a noise like that of thunder was heard, and the bastion Botzaris was soon in ruins. The infidels rush

forward through the breach which is formed, and plant their standard on the walls. The Christians rush against them, and precipitate them and it. The breach was in an instant covered with the Turkish dead, and they were forced to retire with loss. It was quickly filled up with mattresses and pillows, which were covered with planks and earth. Three hundred of the assailants were slain, and nearly as many were wounded; while the loss on the Greek side was but five men—a general and a chiliarch (*colonel*) were wounded.

The cannonading was still vigorously kept up on the side next the sea; and Resheed continued to erect new batteries, determined to win the town: the courage of the Greeks suffered no abatement; but their ammunition and provisions were running short, and they saw that if not speedily relieved they must perish, for they were determined never to surrender. Fortunately there arrived at this conjuncture a dispatch from the government, announcing the speedy arrival of the Greek fleet; and a letter came from Karaïskaki, promising to send a force to their relief from Salona. These tidings revived their hopes, and when, on the 29th, the Turkish standard was again planted on the Botzaris, the assailants were repulsed with loss. The Greeks had to regret the death of the brave general, Yanni Sooca, who perished in this affair. Undismayed by their repulse, the Turks again pressed on, and attempted to burn the mattresses and pillows, by casting inflammable substances on them; but as soon as the flames broke out, the Greeks hastened to extinguish them, by *throwing water and clay upon them.*

The communication with Anatolico was still kept up; and all the attempts of Mahmood upon Vassiladi and Clissova, were without effect.

New propositions arrived from Resheed, on the 30th; and no attention being paid to them, he renewed them the following day, offering the most favourable terms. Some of the elder officers, viewing the state of the town, with a practicable breach in the bastion Botzaris, several of the batteries become useless, the stock of ammunition so much diminished that they were obliged to slacken their fire, and give over countermining, were for listening to the proposals of the ser-asker. The soldiers were enraged at the idea of surrender being entertained for a single moment. The council of defence contented themselves with desiring Resheed to send next day for their answer.

It appeared, however, as if the ser-asker was about to renew the assault; the besiegers were seen ascending and descending on their lines in great numbers, and with the utmost haste; and the firing recommenced. In a little time, notwithstanding these hostile movements, another deputation entered the town. After a short discussion, the political chief of the town, Athanasius Rasi, cried out, "Mussulmans, if the Mesolonghiotes cannot defend their walls, they will defend their liberty; they will shut themselves up in three large houses, and with them blow up themselves and you!"—"Unhappy Greeks," replied the envoys, "your guilt is doubtless too great, and the divine vengeance urges you to despair. Farewell."

Resheed's hopes of subduing the obstinacy of the Greeks did not yet fail; the commander of the

Austrian frigate, the *Caroline*, who had persisted, contrary to the wishes of the Greeks, in remaining in the bay, made an attempt to induce them to listen to the proposals of the ser-asker. But Noti Botzaris declared, in the name of the Soothsayers, that there should be no capitulation as long as a single one of them remained alive; and that it must be over their bodies that the Turkish standard should pass, to be planted in the town.

At midnight, came an envoy from Resheed, to propose that they should put into his hands, two batteries and one of the gates, that he might introduce 500 of his soldiers into the town, while they were agreeing about the terms of the capitulation. Such an extraordinary proposition was heard with the profoundest astonishment; even those who had before spoken of surrender could not restrain their indignation. "If Resheed wants gates and batteries, let him come take them," was the general cry; and Lambros Veicos, at the desire of the other chiefs, wrote to his friend, Tahir Abas, assuring him that the town was well supplied with every thing necessary for defence; and that, under such circumstances, were they to surrender, they should draw on themselves the wrath of God, the reproaches of the world, and the contempt of Tahir Abas himself. He, therefore, begs of him to assure the Roomeli Valesi, that it is only sword in hand that he may ever expect to enter Mesolonghi.*

* With a little touch of the usual Greek *fanfaronnade*, Veicos added, in a postscript to his letter, "With these, accept also four bottles of rum, to give to your beiractars, when they next make an assault."

This reply to his propositions enraged Resheed, and the firing on the town was resumed with great fury. Balls and bombs were showered without intermission, from the batteries and the fleet, over the town, the ramparts, and the boats which were drawn up before it. In the evening, a great number of scaling-ladders were carried to the advance posts. It was manifest that another assault would be attempted in the morning. The Greeks calmly and courageously prepared to receive it.

The first rays of light had hardly shown themselves on the horizon, when the trumpet sounded to arms throughout the town, and the garrison instantaneously occupied the ramparts. The increasing light gave to view the Moslem host ready for the assault. A mine, which had been run under the bastion Franklin, exploded; and, with loud cries, the Turks rushed through the breach thus effected, and planted twenty of their standards on the bastion. At the same moment, other mines exploded under the bastion Botzaris, and the batteries Macris and Montalembert, and the standards of the infidels floated upon each. Encouraged by the sight of their ensigns on the defences of the Greeks, the whole Turkish army rushes forward towards the walls; the thunder of cannon, the volleying of musketry, peal incessantly along the whole line; clouds of smoke, through which flashes the blaze of great and small arms, cover the combatants, and conceal them from the view. With furious shouts the infidels rush on, confident of carrying the town. Calmly stationed behind their internal defences, and on the walls which flank the assaulted batteries, the Greeks keep up a constant fire. After

a space of two hours and a half, the smoke clears away, the Turkish standards have vanished from the ramparts, on and about which lay 500 slain Moslems, a still greater number of wounded had sought shelter in the camp of the ser-asker, which they filled with their moans, spreading consternation among the troops. The loss on the side of the Greeks was but twenty men, killed and wounded.

The flotilla had, meantime, advanced against the town. The commander of it had set fire to one of his boats, hoping that the others could advance unperceived under favour of the smoke. But his stratagem did not succeed ; and the batteries on the beach soon forced his boats to make off. Resheed, enraged at the ill success of his attack, had nine Greek prisoners brought forth and beheaded in his presence, to alleviate his grief.

CHAPTER XV.

Arrival of the Greek Fleet—Engages and Defeats that of the Turks—Successful Sally of the Garrison—The Enemy take the Franklin Bastion—The Dike of Union—Assaults—Distress of the Besiegers—Thanksgivings at Napoli for the Successful Defence of Mesolonghi—Renewed Assault.

NOTWITHSTANDING their valiant repulse of the enemy, the brave defenders of Mesolonghi were now nearly at extremity ; the utmost scarcity of provisions prevailed in the town—their powder was reduced to two barrels—a part of their walls was in ruins—several of their batte-

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ries had been silenced. If relief was any longer delayed, the bulwark of Western Greece must fall.

In the dead of the night, some of the Greek soldiers were sitting together in one of the places of arms, telling to each other their dreams, in hopes of deriving some consoling presages from them. All was still in the town, and in the camp of the enemy; the silence was only broken by the sound of their own voices. Suddenly the report of distant cannon-shots strikes their ears—they listen to the nearly inaudible sounds. “It must be our fleet!” they cry; and they hasten to spread the joyful news through the town. The dawn is expected with impatience. As soon as objects became visible, every eye was turned towards the sea, and it was perceived that the ship of the Turkish admiral was no longer in the port. This raised their hopes, and all the day long they kept looking out to sea; but nothing appeared to encourage or to depress them. The night came on and passed away. At dawn, the sky was dark and cloudy, rendering distant objects undistinguishable. Suddenly a cannon-shot is heard at no great distance, and the four Turkish ships which remain in the port, are seen to weigh anchor and make for Patras. The mists now clear away, and they discern a fleet. Gradually they ascertain that it is composed of forty two-masted vessels; but they hesitate to believe them to be Greeks from the slowness of their sailing. As the fleet approaches, opinions are divided: some are positive that it is the Greek fleet; others maintain that it is a reinforcement to that of the enemy. In the midst of the dispute, a little girl cries out,

“There I see the flash of the cannon aboard of them !” The sound soon reaches their ears—all doubt is dispelled—the arrival of Miowli is greeted by three salvos from the cannon of Vassiladi. “Glory to God in the highest,” bursts from every tongue—the bells ring out from all the churches—and the people all press forward to the beach to welcome their deliverers.

The greater part of the fleet came into the port; some of the ships pursued the four Turkish vessels which had just left it. One of them was on the point of being captured, when its crew set fire to it, and saved themselves on board of one of the others ; two of them escaped to Lepanto ; the crew of the remaining vessel ran her on shore, and made their escape. Eleven of them, who had not time to get out of her, surrendered to the Greeks. The Turkish flotilla, which was before the town, seeing itself now unprotected, moved to that part of the shore which was close to the camp of Resheed.

As the fleet was known to have on board provisions and ammunition, the hopes of the brave defenders of Mesolonghi beat high ; but it had not yet landed any thing, and it was still at a distance from the town, and their hopes might yet be disappointed. Sails were now discerned in the distance, and soon the Turkish fleet hove in sight ; it was bearing down on that of Miowli, which instantly got ready for action, and advanced to meet it. The Mesolonghiotes stood on their walls, anxiously viewing the engagement, on whose result depended their hopes of deliverance. The combat was not long doubtful ; the Turks fled, Miowli, Apostoli, and *Kolántroosi*, pursued them with twenty-eight

ships ; while the vice-admiral, Sachtoori, landed, from five vessels, the provisions and stores sent by the government.

A letter now came from Karaïskaki to the governor, announcing, that on that night, or at farthest on the following night, he would arrive to the relief of the town. A council was forthwith held, and 1500 men were selected to sally forth the moment he should commence his attack, and thus place the enemy between two fires. That night all was still ; but at one o'clock the next night, the appointed signal was given by Karaïskaki, who had led his troops through the mountains, and had fallen on the rear of Resheed's camp. The 1500 chosen warriors issued from the eastern and central parts of the ramparts. The first line carried nothing but swords ; falling on the intrenchments of the enemy, they slaughtered 300 of their defenders. The second line, after two volleys of musketry, drew their swords, and rushing forward, made themselves masters of four of the enemy's batteries, and of a great portion of the intrenchments. The Turks fled in disorder ; the Greeks penetrated to the very middle of their lines, where they made great slaughter, and took a number of prisoners and standards ; and after an absence of three hours, they returned in triumph to the town. But seventeen Greeks fell in this nocturnal attack, and only thirteen were wounded ; the loss of the enemy is said to have been not less than 1500 men. As these were some of his best troops, the grief and rage of Resheed-pasha were extreme ; and to add to his uneasiness, some of the crews of the flotilla arrived at that moment to inform him that a part of it had

been destroyed, from which they had with difficulty effected their escape.

After the sea-fight, which had taken place on the 4th August, the Turks of the flotilla had set about dragging their boats upon shore, and raising batteries to protect them. On the 6th, when Admiral Miowli returned from the pursuit of the capitan-pasha, he dispatched some of the boats of his squadron to endeavour to take such of those of the Turks as were still in the water. After a severe conflict, the Greeks succeeded in taking seven of them, and sinking some others. It was the crews of these last who had fled to the Turkish camp.

The ser-asker placed great hopes in the huge mound of earth which he had raised opposite the battery Normann. The Greeks, who at first did not know what to make of it, now that they saw it continued on towards the walls, judged that the object of it must be to protect those who advanced to fill up the fosses of the Franklin, from the fire of the tower Coray and the bastion Botzaris; but this was not the object, at least not the sole one, of Resheed and his engineers; and though the grape from the Kosciusko and the William Tell destroyed the men who were engaged in constructing it, they ran it on till it was almost close to the ramparts. On the evening of the 9th August, the garrison made a sally, and after a combat of about half an hour, they remained masters of the head of it. They soon, however, were obliged to retire on account of the heavy fire which was kept up from the more distant intrenchments; and the besiegers, redoubling their activity, soon raised *their mound to a height exceeding that of the*

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parapets of the bastion. As they could now fire into the interior of the works, they speedily, after a smart action, made themselves masters of the Franklin ; and the head of the mound was now continued up to the walls, to which it was at length united.

This work, so unlike any thing employed in modern warfare, caused considerable surprise in all who beheld it ; it bore a resemblance to the *Agger* of the Romans, the object of which was to out-top the walls of the besieged town, and give the besiegers an opportunity of discharging their missiles into it ; but the *Agger* was not run from a distance towards the walls, and in this respect it more resembled the dike or mole made by Alexander the Great against Tyre, with this difference, that the one was on the land, the other in the sea. This last resemblance appeared so striking to the engineer Coccini, that he gave the mound the name of the *Dike of Union*. It is uncertain who was the projector of this work, and whether it was a Turkish fancy, or that the Austrian engineers wished to flatter Resheed, who took great pride in this artificial mountain, or that they were desirous of trying the effect of this novel mode of approach, instead of the ordinary one by means of trenches.

The Dike of Union was eighty paces long ; about the middle it made an angle, in order to run directly up to the Franklin ; it was from three to five and a half paces in breadth ; its platform was defended by gabions in front and on the sides.

Resheed had been quite certain, that once he was master of the Franklin, the whole town

must soon be his. But the Greeks had had the precaution to make intrenchments on each side of the gorge of the bastion, and to open new fosses at some distance from it, behind which they raised other ramparts ; and thus Resheed found himself actually besieged in the bastion which he had won.

Night and day the whole garrison wrought at these new intrenchments. Two howitzers were mounted on them ; and these, and the guns of the William Tell, the Kosciusko, and the Coray, played incessantly on the works on the dike. The Turks, however, still heaped up gabions and bags of earth upon it, in order to be able to command the interior of the town ; but the Greeks frustrated them, by also elevating their second rampart by means of gabions. The enemy then commenced running three mines from the bastion Franklin towards the interior works, and employed the earth which was thrown out of them in raising intrenchments against the second circle of defences. The Turkish labourers suffered severely from the fire of the Greeks ; but they still persevered, and the works advanced. A party of thirty Greeks sallied from behind their ramparts, made a bold dash at the Ottomans, drove them from their works, scattered the earth about, made themselves masters of a part of the nearest works, and destroyed them. The Turks, who had at first fled to the Dike of Union for shelter, resumed courage when they saw the small number of the assailants, returned to the conflict, and, after a combat of half an hour, succeeded in driving them back. The loss of the Christians was four of their brave compa-

nions, among whom was the gallant chiliarch Spiro Contoyanni.

Shortly afterwards, Kitsos Tsavellas, the Sooliote, with a part of his men, arrived by sea from Crioneri, and at the same time, Generals George Valtino and Costa Photomara also entered the town. They informed the garrison, that the efforts of Karaïskaki and his companions had forced the Turks to keep within the walls of Salona, and under those of Mesolonghi; that all the rest of Roomelia was free from them, and the inhabitants were returning to their homes. A part of the troops of these officers entered the town, the remainder proceeded to Dragomesto to join Karaïskaki in endeavouring to cut off Resheed's communication with Epirus.

Resheed now erected on the left side of the dike a battery against the tower of Coray, whose fire did him great injury; and he placed on the front of the dike a piece of cannon to play on the counter-rampart. The Greeks were equally busy completing their internal intrenchments, and they raised against the dike a masked battery, which they called after the famous Sooliote Kootzonika. These works were carried on by both parties under a heavy fire from each other. The loss of Turks was by far the greater of the two, as the Greek guns were much better served and directed than theirs; but on the side of the Greeks, the loss was far from inconsiderable.

Resheed, having completed his lines beyond the Franklin, began to pile up earth on the left of the counter-fosse dug by the garrison, with the design of filling it up, as he had done to the

other ; but when it began to approach the edge of the fosse, the Greeks secretly removed the earth, and at the same time ran a mine under the works of the enemy. On the 31st August, they fired the mine, and the moment it exploded, rushed sword in hand on the most advanced of the Turkish works ; in an instant they were levelled, and the besiegers driven to seek shelter in their more distant intrenchments, whence they poured a shower of grenades on the soldiers of the garrison. But, unchecked by these missiles, the Greeks still persevered, and never ceased till they had made themselves masters of all the works constructed behind the Franklin.

The banner of Resheed is displayed on the Dike of Union, where the ser-asker himself now makes his appearance, surrounded by the Asiatic troops, who keep up a constant fire of musketry, while the cannon thunders without intermission. The Greeks are still undaunted, their balls strike and carry away the peak of the ser-asker's standard ; this circumstance diminishes the enthusiasm of the superstitious Moslems ; the Greeks drive them into the bastion Franklin, which they enter *pêle-mêle* along with them ; muskets are discharged, sticks, stones, and grenades, are employed in the assault and the defence ; the bastion is soon in the hands of the Greeks, who now advance against the Dike of Union. The Turks flourish their sabres above the intrenchments behind which they are posted ; with sticks and stones the Greeks beat down these defences, and force the infidels once more to fly. Day closed, and the *battle was not yet terminated.* At midnight,

the Greeks had the entire of the bastion Franklin in their possession, and the Turks were intrenching themselves upon the dike.

The loss of the Greeks upon this occasion was only twenty men, among whom were the chiliarchs Apostólaki Vargheadíti and Georgaki Danca; forty-five of them were wounded; George Tsavellas, the lieutenant of Kitsos Tsavellas, and Yannaki, the brother of General Ratzicotzica, were among them. As more than 100 horses were employed besides men in conveying away the dead on the side of the Turks, their loss was computed to be about 300 men. Hago Bessiari, the Albanian chief, received two wounds. The soldiers became dispirited, and insisted on the siege being raised, and the arrears of their pay discharged. Resheed, fearing to do the one, and unable to do the other, was in the utmost dejection and embarrassment, and an accidental circumstance which then occurred, made him even suspect the officers of the sultan of treachery. A bomb happening to fall near him without exploding, he took it up, and on examining it, found that it had been made at Constantinople, and he exclaimed in a rage, that Topal-pasha had sold to the infidels the ammunition which the sultan had charged him to convey to him. He was, however, mistaken; the bomb had doubtless come from Constantinople, but some of the vessels laden with stores had been captured by the Greeks.

Resheed was now obliged to fall back as far as the middle of the Dike of Union, and to seek to fortify himself in that position. During two entire days, his batteries were silent. An epidemic malady broke out in his camp; the parti-

san corps of the Greeks, spread over Ætolia and Acarnania, daily cut off his supplies. The traitor Varnakioti was defeated by them, and some of his men sent prisoners to Mesolonghi. Karaïskaki, having a sufficient force to interrupt Resheed's communication with Salona, had gone by Carpenisé to the Valtos, in order to cut off his communication with Arta also, and the ser-asker saw himself on the point of being blocked up in his camp. At the same time, a sloop of war entered the port of Mesolonghi, laden with provisions and stores, and having on board a sub-lieutenant and five gunners belonging to the corps which had been lately organized at Napoli di Romania.

The Greeks, being in possession of a portion of the Dike of Union, immediately set about running a mine under the part still occupied by the enemy. It was completed on the 2d September, and that very evening it was fired. The explosion killed and wounded 200 men, and destroyed the advanced works, and the enemy was forced to retire still farther back, and cover himself by new works.

The gallant defence of Mesolonghi had fixed upon it the eyes of all Greece: every courier that arrived brought to the garrison fresh testimonials of the admiration with which their conduct was viewed by their countrymen. Public rejoicings were made at Napoli, to celebrate the raising of the naval blockade of their port, and the repulse of the two first assaults; and on the 16th August, the members of the senate and the executive, the military chiefs, and a great *concourse of the people*, went in solemn *procession to the principal church, to return*

REJOICINGS AT NAPOLI.

anks to Heaven for these successes. The ceremony was concluded by an eloquent discourse in praise of the Mesolonghiotes, delivered by Athanasius Polysordi, which was afterwards printed and circulated all through Greece. The orator placed in brilliant contrast the lukewarmness which had succeeded to the former enthusiasm of the Peloponnesians, and the indifference which they manifested at the very time that the enemy was in their country destroying their towns and villages, and slaughtering or making slaves of the people, with the self-devotion and heroism of the defenders of "sacred Mesolonghi," as he reiteratedly styled it, on account of its having so often seen the enemy retire from before its walls, and its containing within its precincts the bodies of Kyriakooli, Mark Botzaris, General Normann, Lord Byron, and others, whom the orator viewed as the martyrs of liberty. Concluding with a dismal picture of the evils which menaced their country, he earnestly called on the Peloponnesians to awake from their lethargy, and to render themselves worthy to have a share of the laurels which encircled the brows of the warriors of Western Greece.

The objects of these praises were meant toiling without ceasing in their efforts to resist the still formidable host of Resheed-pasha; forming alternately the parts of soldiers, labourers, they knew no rest either by day or by night; but their spirits were supported by the fervour of patriotism, and the hatred of the Mohammedan yoke.

They had placed in the masked battalions their largest piece of cannon.

two field-pieces and a mortar. The fire from it did the enemy considerable mischief, and Resheed, resolving to put every thing in operation to reduce it to silence, placed all his best gunners in the batteries which were so situated as to be able to play on it. The balls, however, though better directed than usual, did not reach it. Bombs and grenades were flung in profusion ; but, after a perseverance of several days, the Turks found that they had only succeeded in throwing down a portion of the parapet of the battery. Captain Tzerigoti, who commanded it, kept up a constant fire on the Dike of Union, and he occasionally flung bombs into the camp of the enemy, which obliged Resheed to transfer a great number of his tents to the foot of Mount Aracynthus. He still continued persuaded of the importance of the dike, and he had the part of it which was yet in his possession raised higher than ever. He, at the same time, had a battery erected opposite the curtain between the Franklin and the Coray, at a distance of 150 paces from the wall. He began to raise a new mound of earth against the left flank of the Franklin ; and, concentrating his attacks upon this point, became negligent of all the other parts.

The soldiers, however, did not share in the pride and obstinacy of their chief ; they were clamorous to have the siege raised, and entire companies of them quitted the camp, without asking permission, and returned to their homes. It was the advice of Hago Bessiari to the serasker, that he should return to Jannina for the winter, leaving him to remain before Mesolonghi, to try to induce the garrison to surren-

To add to the embarrassment of the various parties of Turks in Acarnania had been every Karaïskaki, who had been jobbers of the Valtos.

Aware of the state of the country and of the successes of Karaïskaki, the Government of Mesolonghi issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Acarnania, who had sought shelter in the Islands, calling upon them to lend their aid for the expulsion of the Turks, now that the opportunity was offered. It was hoped that, the force being by this means strengthened, they would be able to cut the sea communication whatever with the Turks, and expose himself and his army to the walls of Mesolonghi, or of

for another assault; but only 2000 men could be got to present themselves for commencing the attack. Preparations were made during several days. The Greeks, aware of what was in contemplation, awaited the assault with impatience, and from the summits of their walls reproached the besiegers with their tardiness, and challenged them to advance at once to the attack.

The Greeks had run a mine of considerable size under the works raised by the ser-asker against the Franklin; they had also formed another which was much smaller, and the explosion of this last was to be the signal of attack on their side. Accordingly, on the 21st September, the small mine was fired, and a few of the Turks were killed by the explosion; and at the same moment a furious fire was opened on the besiegers from all the batteries of the town. The Turks replied by a tremendous discharge from all the batteries on their side; large masses of the Albanians quit their tents at the foot of the Aracynthus, and hasten to the support of their first line; others are driven on towards the walls by the threats and the whips of the horsemen; Resheed himself leaves his tent, and comes, surrounded by his guards, to place himself in the advanced posts; an assault is attempted, but the assailants are driven back; suddenly the firing ceases along the whole line of the ramparts, with the exception of the bastion Franklin. Resheed, thinking that the whole of the garrison was collected at that spot, issues instant orders to make the assault *anew on the other points*. His troops advance; *they reach the walls; they are preparing to*

mount them, when the Greeks, who were lying concealed, show themselves ; surprised and terrified, the assailants take to flight, and seek the shelter of their intrenchments, and, as they fly, they are swept down by discharges of grape from the neighbouring batteries. Suddenly, a loud noise is heard, and a dense cloud of smoke rises from the earth ; the large mine has exploded, and earth, stones, heads, fragments of limbs, are hurled into the air. The moment had been selected when the Turks were crowded into the works, beneath which the mine was formed, and the explosion had been most destructive.

As the Moslems fly in consternation from their ruined works, the cannon-balls and grape-shot from the Greek batteries make dreadful slaughter among them. A part of the garrison rushes, sword in hand, upon the remains of their intrenchments ; their pursuit is only impeded by the crevices in the earth, caused by the explosion of the mines. The soldiers having gone down into the cavities which had been thus formed, and thrown out of them the torn fragments of human bodies which they contained, the pioneers advanced with their implements, and began to fill them up and level the ground. Two Christian labourers were found alive among the rubbish, which also covered the dead bodies of several of the Mussulmans. Meantime, the infidels had rallied on the Dike of Union, where they stood brandishing their naked swords at the Christians, who contented themselves with flinging stones and pieces of wood at them, and proceeded leisurely in their work of levelling the mounds of earth piled up with so much labour and care.

The Turks lost on this occasion upwards of 500 men. Vanoosi Sevrani and Aslan-bey, two of their chiefs, had been wounded. The number of the slain on the side of the Greeks amounted to but fifteen; that of the wounded to thirty-five, among whom were the two Sooliote chiefs, Constantine Tsavellas and Athanasius Zervas, and a Mesolonghi youth, of but fourteen years of age, named Anthony Baca, who had greatly distinguished himself by his gallantry in the affair of the 2d August.

CHAPTER XVI.

State of the Besiegers—Of the Garrison—Success of the Greek Troops—Dike of Union destroyed—Resheed falls back—Successes of the Greeks in Eastern Greece—Naval Engagement—Landing of the Egyptians in Ætolia—Means adopted by the Greek Government for raising Supplies.

AFTER the brilliant affair of the 21st September, reinforcements, led by General Sadina, and by the Lieutenant-Generals Vasili Patzi and Christódoolo Hajee Petroo, and the chiliarch Yannaki Strato, entered the town of Mesolonghi; and the garrison, thus strengthened, notwithstanding the shattered state of their ramparts, looked forward to the ulterior efforts of the enemy without apprehension. Not so the ser-asker, who now began to lose all hope of seeing the accomplishment of the proud anticipations with which he had set out from Epirus some months before. Dropping all idea of being the assailant, he seemed only occupied about measures for defending his positions

against the attacks of the Greeks. His engineers set about converting a battery, which had been raised on the ruins of the church of St Athanasius, into a fort ; the timber requisite for the construction of magazines for his provisions and ammunition was brought from Prevesa, and every thing announced his intention of passing the winter before the town, hopeless as he was now become of ultimate success. But if he retired, his head was forfeited beyond redemption; if he remained, some lucky chance might rescue him from danger : and thus, though his men were every day deserting, though epidemic maladies thinned those who remained, provisions were scarce, and the country behind him was in the hands of the enemy, the Ser-asker Resheed remained obstinate in his determination not to retire from before Mesolonghi.

The resolution of the ser-asker not to raise the siege being apparent, the chiefs, civil and military, of the town of Mesolonghi, assembled in the church of St Panteleïmon to deliberate on what was to be done. The idea of surrender entered the mind of no member of the council; on the contrary, their hopes were high, the garrison was sufficiently numerous, and its valour and patriotism were now beyond dispute; the sea was open, and scarcely a week passed that some vessel did not arrive with provisions, while famine menaced the besiegers, disease preyed on them, the winter was approaching, when the rains would probably, as usual, deluge the plain on which they were encamped. The deliberations were therefore brief; all that was to be done was to repair the ramparts, and to endeavour to cut off the supplies of the Ottomans.

camp. Accordingly, another pressing proclamation was addressed to the inhabitants of Western Greece, calling on them to second the efforts of Karaïskaki; and all hands were set to the task of repairing the fortifications.

Once more Resheed-pasha endeavoured to open a negotiation with the garrison of the town. He had a letter, demanding an interview with the chiefs, flung into the battery of Montalembert. It was thrown back into his intrenchments, with this brief answer, "The Greeks hold with the Turks no other intercourse than that of arms." Immediately afterwards the garrison ran a mine from the breach in the bastion Botzaris, to the opposite part of the enemy's intrenchments. On being fired, it blew up a part of their works, with the soldiers who guarded them; and with the firing of cannon and musketry which succeeded, about 100 of the Moslems lost their lives, while two men only fell on the side of the Greeks.

A few days afterwards came a letter from the generals of Acarnania, stating, that they had attacked the intrenched camp of the Turks at Karvansara during the night, of which they had obtained possession, after killing upwards of 300 of the barbarians, and driving the rest into the sea, but that want of provisions had obliged them to abandon it almost immediately and return to Dragomesto, whither, however, they had taken with them one hundred and thirty camels, eighty mules, and thirty valuable horses. Only one of their men had been killed, and two wounded, in this affair. They added, that they *had been assured at Dragomesto, that Resheed had sent a corps of 5000 men against them,—a*

piece of intelligence which gave them very great pleasure, as they feared them not, and they knew that by so doing he must greatly facilitate the defence of Mesolonghi.

The contents of this letter were, it may be readily supposed, highly grateful to the defenders of Mesolonghi, and they soon had a glorious exploit of their own to act against them. An able miner, named Constantine, sent from the government of Napoli, had arrived in the town a few days before. Though considerable difficulties were presented by the nature of the soil, he had succeeded in running a mine under the Dike of Union. It was completed by the 5th October, and next morning at dawn, the discharge of cannon and musketry commenced along the left flank of the ramparts, with the object of drawing the Turks to concentrate themselves in their posts. After some time the firing ceased; and, precisely as the sun was appearing above the eastern hills, Constantine fired the mine. The sound of the explosion was not great, but, as the powder had been distributed into various chambers, the damage done was considerable: the whole of what remained of the dike was scattered about, and a number of its defenders slain. The firing is then renewed along the ramparts; the Turks abandon their lines, and fly; the gates of the town are thrown open; the garrison sally forth, and pursue the fugitives for a distance of 300 paces, and come back bearing heads, standards, and arms of various kinds. It was ascertained that the destruction caused by the mine had extended to the coffeehouse in which the Turkish chiefs assembled every morning.

For some days nothing of any importance occurred. On the evening of the 17th it began to rain, and towards midnight the rain became violent. All was still in the Turkish camp. The Greek soldiers, who were on the ramparts, began to fling some grenades into the camp of the enemy; when they first exploded some cries were heard, no sound succeeded the explosion of the second; the same silence continued after that of the third. This unusual circumstance surprises the Greeks; they quit their batteries, and approach the works of the besiegers; still all is silence; they venture to enter, and find them deserted. Immediately they fall to work at pulling down the palisades, and, carrying off such parts of the timber as might be of use, they set fire to the remainder.

The light of the flames aroused the people of Mesolonghi, and on hearing the cause of them, they get themselves ready, and with daybreak, men, women, and children, pour out at all the gates, and hasten to explore the abandoned works of the enemy. Resheed, who had only made his troops fall back towards Mount Aracynthus, and quit the works nearest to the town, still keeps up a fire at it from his more distant batteries; but the Mesolonghiotes were now too well accustomed to the discharge of the Turkish bombs and cannon-balls to suffer themselves to be disturbed in their work by them. The women go on tranquilly collecting the boards, baskets, and other things which might be of use, and carrying them into the town. The children lead out the cattle to feed on the grass which grew about there; the soldiers contemplate the various places in which

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they had, on different occasions, signalled their valeur, and going up to their intrenchments challenge the Mussulmans to come forth and engage them once more.

As the enemy was now at some distance, the Greeks took the opportunity presented for examining and repairing the fortifications of the town. The damage which they had sustained was found to be considerable: there was but one in the bastion Botzaris of forty-five feet; the Coray, the Ignatius, the Coccini, and the Maria were in a similar condition; the curtain between the batteries was in ruins. The state of the bastion Franklin, which had been taken and retaken, was, as may be readily supposed, worse than that of any other part. Under the direction of Coccini, the Greeks began to carry on simultaneously the reparation of their own works, and the destruction of those of the enemy. The fosses were to be cleared out, and the breaches repaired, while the ground which had been trenched and bristled with the numerous works of the enemy, was to be made once more smooth and level. The Mussulmans were not idle on their side; they surrounded their camp with strong lines, defended by towers built of stone, and by numerous batteries. Meantime, Resheed continued to cast bombs into the town, the garrison sent parties out towards his camp, to harass his workmen, and challenge his soldiers to the combat, and frequent petty encounters occurred between them.

The besieged and the besiegers were thus occupied during the remainder of the month of October and the beginning of November. At the same time, the arms of the Greeks were

successful in Eastern Greece ; the generals Goora, Grizioti, and Vasio, leaving the camp at Salona, set out with some troops for Thermopylæ, and on arriving there, gave two defeats to a corps of the enemy whom they encountered. On their return they attacked and dispersed a detachment at Roóssali. The corps of Grizioti and Vasio then took, in the camp before Salona, the place of the Sooliotes of Constantine Botzaris, and the other chiefs, who, joining Goora, fell on the Turkish camp at Ampliani. The Turkish commander, and a great number of his men, were slain, and the garrison of Salona, losing courage, abandoned the town, and fled on the 6th November. Their precipitation was so great, that they did not, according to their usual custom, set fire to the town, and they even left behind them a great abundance of provisions, their tents, two pieces of cannon, and their sick. Meantime Karaïskaki, who maintained his position of Dragomesto, greatly impeded the communication with Epirus, and frequently cut to pieces detachments of the enemy.

Resheed, as almost all the Christian labourers whom he had brought before the town had deserted, or had perished in consequence of the hardships and ill treatment to which they were exposed, sent orders for 700 more men to be sent to him ; and to replace the loss of the beasts of burden taken by the Greeks at Karavansara, he had 200 mules brought from Jannina, Arta, and Prevesa. He also made an ineffectual attempt to purchase provisions in the Ionian Isles.

His soldiers still continuing to desert in great

numbers, his army was now reduced to 12,000 men, and he was in hourly apprehension of being beleaguered in his camp by the united corps of the Greeks, in Eastern and Western Greece. The dread of the sultan's wrath weighed, however, still heavier on his mind, and as a means of warding it off, he invited the Pasha of Patrás, and other chiefs, to an interview, at which he obtained from them certificates of his having displayed the greatest talents, as well as the utmost perseverance, during the siege, the interruption of which was entirely owing to the cowardice of his troops, and the flight of Topal-pasha, who had run away at the sight of a few boats filled with Klephts. It certainly must be confessed, that very little blame could be attached to the conduct of the ser-asker; but failure is proof sufficient of guilt in the eyes of a Turkish divan.

On the 18th November, the garrison of Mesolonghi heard loud shouts of joy, and three discharges of artillery, in the Turkish camp, and on looking out to sea, they saw the Ottoman fleet of 100 sail enter the gulf. It passed close by Vassiladi, and then directing its course to Patrás and to Lepanto, it landed provisions of every kind at these places.

A few days afterwards, a loud and continued firing was heard out to sea, and next day the Greek and Turkish fleets were discerned from the ramparts closely engaged with each other. The cannon of the Greek fleet ceasing to fire, the batteries of Resheed celebrated the triumph of the Ottomans by loud salvos. On the other hand, the besieged were quite confident that Miowli was victorious, as they had seen the enemy's line broken, and one of his ships on fire.

During the night, a brisk cannonade was heard out to sea, and both the besiegers and the besieged remained in a state of anxious expectation.

The Grecian fleet, which was now engaged with that of the capitan-pasha, was commanded by the brave and skilful Admiral Miowli. He had not hesitated to attack, with only thirty-four vessels, the numerous fleet of the Turks, and the combat had lasted for two days and nights. A fire-ship had been sent off against one of the largest of the enemy's frigates, but a ball having carried away her mainmast, she had missed the frigate, and only run against a brig. The wind soon separated the hostile fleets, and they continued for two days manœuvring opposite each other. On the 29th the combat was renewed; but the people of Mesolonghi could only hear the firing, for the fleets were out of their view. The bells of all the churches summoned the people to the foot of the altars, to supplicate Heaven to favour the ensign of the cross, and give victory to *the Nelson of Hellas*,* as the brave Miowli was styled. But all his efforts were vain; and though he strained every nerve both by day and by night, during an entire week, he could not force his way into the gulf, or make Topal-pasha retire. He soon found himself obliged, by want of provisions, to return to Hydra; and the capitan-pasha landed, without interruption, large supplies of ammunition and stores of every kind for the besiegers. Resheed now kept up an unintermitted fire on the town, but he no longer ventured to approach the walls. His soldiers began to threaten the garrison with the speedy arrival

* 'Ο Νέλσον τῆς Ἑλλάδος.



~~some were having apparently~~
Presently, large stakes were
the Turkish camp, and a prie
robes, two women, and several
were placed upon them, and l
in agony, in view of their fri
who could only bewail their su
had latterly been in the habit
soners in this barbarous mann

On the 24th, the sound of
heard, and a detachment of
had landed at Crioneri from t
sight. The appearance presen
was widely different from th
hitherto customary in Greece
opened by the artillery; the
under six standards, followed;
up the rear. They came and
at a little distance from those c
ser-asker, and thus the troop

After the rout of the Greeks at Tripolitzá, Ibrahim experienced no farther opposition. Colocotronis and some other chiefs kept some bodies of men together; but they did not venture to make any attack on the Egyptians, whose military skill and discipline daunted them. The people, in general, fled, with their families, to the shelter of the mountains and woods; and the Egyptian pasha remained absolute master of the whole country, with the exception of the three fortresses which were in the hands of the Greeks. Unwilling that his troops should remain inactive, and deeming Mesolonghi of greater importance, and of easier capture, than the fortresses of the Morea, Ibrahim resolved to transport a part of his troops across the gulf of Lepanto, and unite them with the army of Resheed-pasha, before its walls. Accordingly, leaving a good garrison in Tripolitza, he proceeded to Modon, where, receiving a reinforcement from Egypt,* which had arrived at Navarino, on the 6th November he embarked his infantry at this last place, and sent it by sea to Patras, while himself, with his cavalry, continued their route by land to the same place. Having assembled his forces at Patras, he embarked them; and there being no enemy at sea, the whole disembarked safely at Crioneri, and, as we have seen, formed a junction with the forces of Resheed-pasha.

Meantime, the affairs of the Greek nation were

(*the days of St Louis and of Henry IV. are past,*) is the expression in the Greek journals on this occasion.

* Of 10,000 men, according to M. Fabre; but this is manifestly a gross exaggeration. We have already warned the reader of the uncertainty of all the numbers in the greater part of the narrative of this war.



was with the utmost difficulty
be got ready for sea; and with
stock of provisions on board was
to support the crews of the
limited time, after which, as
very month with that which was
of Mesolonghi, the fleet was
home, however injurious to
pendence its doing so might
to have also prevailed a certain
union between the people of
for the Spetziotes more than
their ports, leaving the Hydruntines
single-handed with the enemy.

The necessity of making a
by sea for the relief of Mesolonghi
to every one. The primates of
the senate, to impress on them
getting a fleet ready for sea without
delay. On the 17th December

sure likely to be of any efficacy; and that, on that account, they should have no fears about incurring the responsibility of it. The senate, however, thought differently, and more judiciously perhaps; and on the receipt of the letter of the primates of Hydra, a general subscription of the inhabitants of Napoli, commencing with the senators themselves, for the relief of Mesolonghi, was proposed and carried. Every member present instantly subscribed, and the list of the subscribers, and the draught of the decree, were sent to the government, in order that its members and the ministers might also subscribe. The executive was further requested to issue a proclamation, calling on all the citizens to contribute according to their means for the equipment of a fleet, destined for the relief of Mesolonghi. This proclamation, which was issued on the 19th December, stated, that the subscription of the senators had amounted to upwards of 82,000 piastres, and that that of the other parts of the government would be proportioned to that of the senate.

The following day, the senate appointed a commission to receive the donations which were expected. A message arrived at the same time from the executive, in which, after expressing the joy which its members had felt at the generosity manifested by the senators, it was announced, that they had sent to the richest of the inhabitants whose names were in the list drawn up by the senate, calling upon them to pay the sums at which they were set down: that farther, the members of the government, and the ministers, and those in employment under them, had subscribed at once, and that the subscriptions now amounted to 42,200 piastres. When the list was

read, the senate was of opinion, that some of those whose names were down had not been sufficiently liberal, and sent two of its members to call the attention of the executive to this circumstance, and to invite all persons in the public service to contribute according to their means, as well as to the wants of their country.

What was raised in this way, proved sufficient to enable the Hydraote fleet to put to sea; but it was evident that some more steady and more extensive mode of raising supplies must be had recourse to. The people of Western Greece sent a petition, proposing the alienation of the public property, or a general contribution, for the repayment of which the national lands should be mortgaged. As there was a public press, several individuals published their ideas on the subject; but the time of the senate was occupied with useless and unmeaning deliberations.

On the 30th, the executive sent another message to the senate, recommending its former plan of a sale of national property. The senate would, however, hear nothing of a sale, and would only agree to the project of a loan. After a discussion of several days, a law was passed, regulating the conditions of the loan, and fixing it at a million of Spanish dollars. This law remained a dead letter, for the loan could not be raised.

CHAPTER XVII.

Preparations of the Besieged—Arrival of the Greek Fleet—Terms offered and refused—Defeat of the Turkish Fleet—General Kitzo unjustly suspected of Treason—Measures adopted for the relief of the Town—Ibrahim's first Attack repulsed—Ibrahim becomes Master of the Lagoons—Gallant Defence of Clissova—Arrival of the Fleet—Ineffectual Attempt to relieve the Town—Termination of the Siege.

DURING the short space of time which elapsed between the retirement of Resheed and the arrival of Ibrahim-pasha, the besieged had not been able to do more than clear out the fosses of their own ramparts, and level the *cavaliers* of the works of the enemy; the trenches still remained open, and the breaches in the ramparts unclosed. On Sunday, January 1, 1826, Joseph, the bishop of the diocese in which Mesolonghi is situated, issued a pastoral letter, which was read in all the churches, calling on the priests, the primates, and the people in general, to follow him to the ramparts, and all to put their hands to the work of repairing the breaches made by the cannon of the enemy. The zealous prelate denounced the wrath of Heaven against all who kept back; the blessings of the Eternal were implored on all who aided in the good work. Want of materials, however, or the fire of the enemy, prevented the bastion Botzaris, which was the most injured, being repaired; and they were obliged to content themselves with piling up before it a mound of earth, to impede the efforts of the enemy to enlarge it by the discharge of their artillery.

The garrison was not at all dismayed by the appearance of the disciplined troops of Ibrahim-pasha, and they were even anxious for him to give the assault; but the plan of that general was different from, and less impetuous than, that of Resheed; he preferred the surer mode of a blockade by sea and land. Each day, his troops manœuvred in sight of the town, under their Gallic instructors, but they cautiously abstained from approaching it; they did not even occupy the trenches made by Resheed; whole days passed without their firing on the town; and the Egyptian gunners, who had taken the place of those of Resheed, preferred casting bombs into the town, to destroy the houses, to battering the ramparts with cannon-balls. These bombs, which the Greeks named *Gallo-Arabio*, were of a much larger size than those previously used against them: they did a great deal of mischief; a single one of them, for instance, destroyed a house, with a family of four persons in it; and the Greeks were loud in their execrations of those Gallic renegades, who turned their skill and their knowledge to the destruction of a Christian people.

It having been reported that Ibrahim intended giving the assault on Christmas day, the garrison prepared with alacrity to receive it, hoping to distinguish the anniversary of the repulse of the Albanians of Omer Briones, by the slaughter of the Arabs, and, if Heaven should so far prosper their efforts, of the Europeans, of Ibrahim-pasha. But their hopes remained without effect, for no attempt was made on the part of the besiegers. All remained quiet for several days. On the 18th January, the day on which the Greek church celebrates the festival of the Epiphany, the junta

government, and the generals, issued an order for public prayers to be offered up on the ramparts. All the clergy in the place moved with slow and solemn steps, along the circuit of the fortifications, imploring the aid of the Almighty and those who were resolved to conquer or die in the maintenance of the sacred cause of liberty.

Their prayers, it might be said, were heard, for next day the government received a letter from Admiral Miowli, announcing that the Greek fleet was on its way to their relief. It was at this time between Zante and the coast of the Morea, where the Spetziotes, who, on this occasion, were the first in the field, had been for some days waiting to be joined by the mariners of Hydra and Ipsara. Soon after the receipt of the admiral's letter, a number of Turkish boats were seen hastening to take refuge under the cannon of Patras; and at nightfall on the 21st, the Greek fleet of twenty-two sail entered the gulf, under loud salutes of cannon from the batteries of Mesolonghi.

Next day, though the sea was agitated by a tempest, the Turkish fleet got in motion, in order to prevent the Greeks from landing the provisions which they had brought for the use of the people of Mesolonghi. Five of their frigates having gotten the weathergauge of the ships of Miowli, bore down upon them. After a conflict of about an hour, during which but one-half of the Grecian fleet was engaged, the frigates fled towards the east of the Morea. As they approached it, one of them hoisted a signal, and fired three cannon-shots, and instantly nine other frigates and brigs hastened to its support. The whole Turkish squadron drew itself up in a line of battle—a

thing unusual with the Turks, and which indicated the presence of Europeans; the eleven Greek brigs did the same. The Mesolonghiotes looked on from their mole and ramparts, eagerly expecting the issue of the conflict: but the violence of the storm was too great to permit of a regular engagement; and, after about an hour of slight skirmishing, the fleets separated without either having experienced much damage, the Greeks retiring to Cape Scropha, the Turks to that of Papa.

The violence of the storm on the 23d was extreme—no vessel could continue to keep the sea; and from the walls of Mesolonghi nothing was to be seen but the tumbling and foaming of the mountain billows. On the 24th, the Ottoman fleet again made its appearance, while that of Miowli was nowhere to be seen. The following day passed away, leaving the garrison in the same state of uncertainty. On the 26th, while several of the Turkish ships were quietly sailing in view of the ramparts, one of them, a frigate, as it seemed to the besieged, got stranded near the little isle of Calamos. The other vessels came to her aid, but they were unable to get her off, and she remained there. The 27th came, but still no news of Miowli; some still kept up their spirits; others began to despair of relief, thinking that he had found his strength insufficient to cope with that of the Ottoman fleet, and had retired.

While the people of Mesolonghi were in this state of uncertainty, a message came to inform the government, that his Britannic majesty's sloop of war the *Rose* had cast anchor before the isle of Vassiladi, and that her commander, Captain Abbott, had sent to request that the civil

and military chiefs of the town would repair thither, to confer with him on matters of the greatest importance. Deputies were instantly sent off to meet the British commander; and many persons began to entertain sanguine hopes that it was the intention of the British government to interfere effectually in their favour. These hopes were, however, greatly damped, when it appeared that the only object of Captain Abbott was to deliver to the deputies, a letter for the government, in which he informed them, on the part of the capitan-pasha, that all the preparations for a general assault would be completed within eight days; but that, anxious to avoid the effusion of blood, he desired to know if the garrison would capitulate, and what were the terms which they would require. Captain Abbott offered to transmit the reply of the garrison to the Turkish admiral, but he distinctly stated that he would not guarantee the execution of such conditions as might be agreed upon; and he declined offering any advice on the subject.*

The reply of the government was prompt and decisive. It declared that liberty and inde-

* According to M. Auguste Fabre, "all the inhabitants of Mesolonghi were indignant at this conduct of the English captain. The similar conduct of the Austrian captain, Booratowitz, who had transmitted to them proposals of the capitan-pasha, had appeared to them quite natural—he was in the service of Austria; but that an English captain should transmit to them the proposals and the measures of a barbarian, that caused them as much surprise as affliction." It was, no doubt, very surprising that an English captain should be anxious to prevent, if possible, the shedding of blood. Such silliness is undeserving of notice. No one can reprehend Captain Abbott's behaviour. He, no doubt, believed what Topal-pasha said, and that was all his error.

pendence alone could indemnify the Greek people for all their losses; that they were ready to receive the assault with which they were menaced, which, with the aid of God, they would repel, as they had done that of Resheed in the past July; that finally, it was to the general government, with whom alone lay the power of making peace and war, that the capitan-pasha should address himself.

This interposition of Captain Abbott led the Mesolonghiotes to think that their fleet must have been defeated, or at the least have retired on finding itself unable to cope with that of the capitan-pasha; and they directed their thoughts towards the means of resisting the menaced assault. The night came on; silence brooded over the camp and town; towards midnight, sounds resembling cannon-shots were heard at intervals out to sea. The attention of the sentinels was roused to a degree of anxiety; and they eagerly listened, in hopes of ascertaining whence it might proceed. In the course of about an hour, a great blaze burst from off the sea, close to the shore; and they soon perceived that it proceeded from the Turkish frigate which was aground. By the light of the flames, they discerned several vessels sailing about, at a little distance. The frigate still continued to blaze from stem to stern; at last she blew up, with a loud explosion—four huge columns of fire rising to the sky; and all again became darkness and silence.

With daylight the garrison perceived the small squadron of Miowli, close by the isle of Vassiladi; and the Ottoman fleet bearing down on it with great regularity, and favoured by the wind. Miowli did not wait to be attacked; he

advanced boldly to meet the enemy, inferior as his vessels were in size and number. The combat lasted till noon, when the Turkish ships were seen making for Patras and Lepanto, pursued by those of the Greeks. Miowli returned in triumph to the coasts of Mesolonghi. Next day, Vice-Admiral Sachtoori, having landed the stores and provisions destined for the garrison, repaired in person to the town, where his presence caused the liveliest joy. The generals, the soldiers, the people, all came about him, anxious to learn the details of the late battle.

According to the statement of the vice-admiral, Miowli, who was lying at Scropha, hearing that a Turkish frigate was grounded near Calamos, and that a part of the Turkish fleet was trying to get her off, left Scropha at nightfall. The vanguard of the enemy, consisting of twenty vessels, fled at the approach of the Greeks, and was pursued by four of their brigs to Patras. The stranded vessel kept up a vigorous fire; but George Politi, of Hydra, running, by the admiral's orders, his fire-ship against her, succeeded in setting her in flames. A part of her crew got ashore, where they were pursued and slaughtered by the Greek sailors. Others, among whom were the Christian slaves, threw themselves into the sea, and were taken up by the boats. The vessel proved to be, not, as was thought, a frigate, but a corvette of twenty-six guns, lately built, and apparently a fine sailer.

Next morning, the Greeks were preparing to go in pursuit of the Turkish fleet; but the Ottomans, being reinforced, and having the wind in their favour, bore down on the squadron of *Miowli*. The Greek fleet consisted of twenty *Hydraote*, three *Spetziote*, and four *Ipsariote*

vessels: that of the Turks of sixty sail, sixteen of which were fire-ships. During the heat of the action, one of these fire-ships bore down on the ship of the Greek admiral; the instant the crews of some of the Greek fire-ships saw the design of the Turks, they threw themselves into their boats, and made for the Turkish vessel sword in hand. The Turks had not courage to await their approach: getting into their boats, they fled to the nearest frigate for safety, leaving the fire-ship a prey to the Greeks, who brought her in triumph to their own fleet. The wind still favouring the enemy, the battle was continued with great obstinacy; but at length, after a combat of five hours, the enemy fled in disorder. In the confusion, one of their brigs ran ashore on the coast of the Morea, and the crew, hopeless of saving, set fire to her, and fled to the nearest town.

The Turkish prisoners, on being interrogated, said, that on the first arrival of the Christian fleet, Topal-pasha determined to lose a frigate, provided that he could destroy Miowli, and therefore publicly declared that he would raise to the rank of capitana-bey any captain who would venture to board the Grecian admiral. That during the engagement on the 21st, a frigate had approached the admiral's brig, but that the crew, who did not share their captain's ambition, were little disposed to obey him, and a ball happening to kill two of them on deck, they became furious, and refused to proceed, remaining for some time exposed to the fire of the Greeks, without making any return. The captives added, that Topal-pasha was staying at Crioneri, leaving the command of the fleet to Mookhari-bey, the son-in-law of Mahemet Ali.

A few days afterwards, the Turks made another attack on the Greek fleet. The combat was indecisive; and Miowli, who had now accomplished the object of his mission, seeing no necessity for any farther stay, sailed homewards with his fleet.

All this time, the camp of Ibrahim and Resheed had remained quite tranquil; the firing on the town had totally ceased, as Ibrahim deemed it prudent to reserve his ammunition till the arrival of five mortars and twenty pieces of battering cannon, which the Turkish admiral had landed at Crioneri, but which the floods in the river Evenus prevented being brought to the camp. Meantime, he was engaged in making preparations for the future assault. Leaving that part of the lines which faced the left side of the town under the direction of Resheed, he took his own post on the eastern side, where he erected two forts of stone, well supplied with artillery. The tower built by Resheed on the edge of the basin was occupied by a battalion of Arabs, and the Greeks saw from their ramparts a continual movement there, and the constant arrival of laden horses. Curious to know what it might be, some of their soldiers ventured to approach it in monoxyla. As they drew near, they heard a loud clattering of mallets and hammers, and on coming still closer, they saw that they were bringing in a great quantity of boards and planks. This made them conjecture that Ibrahim was constructing flat-bottomed boats, with the intention of attacking the town where it was open to the sea; and this, in fact, was the case, for his European advisers had long been counselling him to make an attempt where the

remained in front of one of these
kept up a fire for some time or
hid their ladders against it, at
its walls.

While Ibrahim was thus ma-
tions for the assault of the tow-
people of Mesolonghi were the
nation by the supposed discov-
one of their bravest chiefs.

Leza was detected favouring the
Turks, who had been taken by
they were bringing provisions
thrown into prison at Mesolon-
defence, said that he was acting
General George Kitzo, who c
~~justified~~ William of Orange.

stantly spread that Kitzo had
to betray this post to him; the
in confusion and terror, every
report, no one paused to enun-

Pánoo, was immediately appointed to examine the charges against him.

Leka, when interrogated by the judges, at first maintained the truth of his assertions; he was then consigned to a priest, who, by exerting his ghostly authority over his mind, prevailed on him to confess the truth; and he acknowledged that George Kitso had known nothing whatever of his project of aiding the escape of the prisoners, but that he had acted entirely from the dictates of his own feelings in that affair, as they were natives of the same village with himself.* It was the desire of saving his life, he said, which had induced him to shelter himself under the name of General Kitso. The commission at once declared the perfect innocence of the general; and the junta, at their suggestion, reinstated him in his command of the *lunette*. A letter, couched in the most flattering terms, informed the accused officer of their determination, and assured him of the speedy and condign punishment of his accuser.

All fears of internal treachery being thus dispelled, the Greeks thought only of repelling the assaults of the enemy whenever they should be made. Ibrahim, however, remained inactive in his camp. The only symptom of any attempt being designed on the town was the advance, on the 14th February, of a battalion of foot and a squadron of horse to the edge of the basin on the east side of the town. The cavalry halted at the outer side, while the infantry went into the sea, and marched through it towards the isle of Clissova.

* For the honour of human nature, we hope that the behaviour of Leka towards the Turkish prisoners was no uncommon case during the war

As soon, however, as the men who were posted in that island began to fire on them, they fell back on their cavalry. Their only object, apparently, had been to examine the depth of the water and the nature of the soil, preparatory to a serious attack on that position.

The army which Ibrahim had now before the walls of Mesolonghi was computed at about 25,000 men, namely, 8600 Arab infantry, disciplined by European officers; 2400 irregulars from Crete and the Morea; 2200 Albanians who were in his pay; 1200 Mameluke horse, and 500 Cossacks who had been brought by the capitan-pasha, and about 10,000 men under Resheed-pasha. His battering train must soon arrive, and the assault would not long be deferred. Still the garrison of Mesolonghi feared not his numbers, their only apprehensions were of famine; the provisions brought by Miowli were only a supply for two months. The Ottoman fleet was growing stronger every day, and if they were not speedily relieved, Mesolonghi must fall.

Accordingly, it was determined that a deputation of their chiefs should repair to Napoli, to lay the state of affairs before the government, and impress on them the absolute necessity there was for something being speedily done for their relief. The deputies, on arriving at that place, and being introduced into the senate, gave a faithful description of how things really were in the besieged town: the garrison almost naked, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, undergoing continual hardships, the ammunition running short, the stock of provisions, though carefully husbanded, was growing scanty; but the senate had little more than praise and ammunition to bestow: the

treasury was empty, the project of a loan on the national lands having proved totally without effect, as not a single lender had come forward. It was therefore resolved to repeal the law of the 5th January, and to sell the olives and other trees on the public lands to the amount of three millions of piastres, and the consent of the executive was readily given to this measure. The deputies from Mesolonghi were then invited to wait on the senate, and the secretary, in a complimentary speech, informed them of what was proposed for their relief. They replied, that it was highly probable that money might be raised in this way, but that they feared that it would come too late to be of any use to Mesolonghi; that they must set out on their return within two days, and that, if the government were really anxious to relieve the town, they should endeavour to raise some money by that time, as they could repay it out of the produce of the intended sale. The deputies having retired, the committee of contributions was directed to ascertain what sum might be at once obtained from the richer citizens on the faith of the government. Next day, the proposed law was again taken into consideration, and it was resolved to add a part of the lands themselves to the list of what was to be sold. The executive readily consented to this partial adoption of its own original project; but time had been lost, and the fate of Mesolonghi must be decided before any money that signified could come in from these sales.

A few days afterwards, Sachtoori, and two other deputies from Hydra, presented a petition to the senate, stating, that they had represented to the government the perilous condition of that

island, owing to her inability to equip her fleet, but that no notice had been taken of their complaints. They now demanded a definitive answer, menacing, that in case of its being withheld, they would, on their return, solemnly and openly protest against the indifference of the government, who either would not see, or would not provide against, dangers which were so manifest.

As it was on the support of the islands that the government mainly depended, this bold language startled the senators not a little, and they sent three of their members to confer upon it with the executive. It was immediately resolved to advance, out of the funds which had been obtained by voluntary subscription, 120,000 piastres to the Hydraotes for the equipment of their fleet, and to place 300,000 in the hands of the deputies from Mesolonghi.

The great object, and that which should have absorbed all other considerations, was the defence of this town. As long as Ibrahim was detained before its walls, the Morea would be unmolested, time would be gained for organizing resistance against his return, and disease and the guns of the town must necessarily greatly diminish the number of his troops. All that the Mesolonghiotes required were ammunition, clothes, and provisions. The description given by the Hydraote mariners of their extreme state of destitution, joined with their invincible courage and patience, interested every one in their favour: the Bishop of Hydra published a pastoral address, which was read in all the churches of the island, to exhort the people to contribute to their aid; a committee was appointed to receive subscriptions for them; the same was done at Napoli, and deputations

were sent to Athens and other places. The collection at Hydra, owing, perhaps, to the great sacrifices which the people of that isle had already made on so many occasions, was inconsiderable; at Athens, 8900* piastres were contributed in money, besides clothes, linen, &c.; many of the other towns also cheerfully bestowed their money in the same good cause; throughout Europe sympathy had been awaked for the brave defenders of Mesolonghi; but time was urgent, and it was greatly to be apprehended that, ere the money could be collected, provisions and the other necessities procured, a fleet, able to engage that of the capitan-pasha, got ready for sea, the strength of the garrison would be exhausted, and the town be in the hands of the enemy.

Meantime Ibrahim had commenced his operations: his artillery being arrived, and his flotilla prepared, he, on the 24th February, opened a heavy fire on the town. The firing was kept up for three days. On the 28th, at two o'clock in the morning, a corps of 5000 men, under favour of the darkness, approached the ramparts of the town, having with them the tools and materials requisite for constructing intrenchments. They took up their position on the heap of earth which the Greeks had piled up in front of the bastion Botzaris. As soon as the guard at the bastion became aware of their presence, they gave the signal usual in such cases with them; it was communicated from post to post; a good number of the garrison hastened to the bastion, and a firing was commenced on the Turks. But this distant species

* General Goora alone subscribed 4000 piastres, and his wife gave thirty *phoostan.les* (a kind of jackets.)

of combat did not correspond to the ardour of the besieged; the gates were soon opened, and they rushed, sword in hand, upon the foe; in a moment they drove them from the mound, the disciplined troops of Ibrahim, surprised at their boldness, were the first to retire, and the rout soon became general. As the victors were returning to the walls, a corps of Mamelukes advanced to attack them; feigning terror at the sight of them, they drew them to a place which was undermined, and a prompt explosion of the mine destroyed several of the infidels. The conflict on this occasion was not terminated till eleven o'clock in the day, and the loss of Ibrahim is said to have been upwards of 500 men. The Greeks had seven men killed and eleven wounded, among whom was Lieutenant-general Yannaki Sooltena, who had greatly distinguished himself on this occasion.

Ibrahim immediately ordered his troops again to advance, and the mound was once more occupied by them. The Greek generals, in the council which they held, determined to leave them undisturbed till nightfall. The soldiers, however, informed that the attack was to be a nocturnal one, did not wait for any signal, but, seizing their arms, rushed forth, drove the enemy from the mound, killed or wounded 300 of them, chased the rest to the first parallels, and returned without the loss of a single man, bearing in triumph heads of the slain, and several of the formidable European guns and bayonets.

A strict blockade appearing to Ibrahim to be the surest mode of winning the town, he resolved to make himself master of the posts which defended the lagoons. Accordingly, his flotilla of gunboats being prepared, it left the port of *Ami*

Aliki, and cut off the communication between Mesolonghi and Anatolico. A steam vessel arrived from Patras on the 6th March, having in tow a number of boats, and immediately a division of them entered the basin by the channel of Vassiladi; three days afterwards the rest of the flotilla came up, and the islet was now completely surrounded; a constant fire from cannons and mortars was kept up on the fort which stood on it. The little garrison made a vigorous resistance, till a bomb falling on their magazine, it blew up, destroying the greater part of them by the explosion. The Turks landed, and put to the sword the remainder, except a few who threw themselves into the water, and escaped to Mesolonghi.

Having been thus successful at Vassiladi, Ibrahim resolved to attack the isles of Doolma, Poro, and Anatolico. Sixty *lanzonias* (flat-bottomed boats), carrying from fifty to ninety men each, proceeded on the sea side against the first of these isles, while a corps of 2000 men went along the shore to wade through the shallows between it and the land. Three batteries, of six guns each, were raised against it on the coast. The firing commenced at ten o'clock in the morning; the garrison, of 300 men, displayed the greatest valour; a bomb fell in their magazine also, and exploded it; but few lives being lost in consequence of it, the post was still sustained: the troops, who were approaching through the shallows, were driven back in disorder; a troop of Mamelukes charged the fugitives, and forced them, by menaces of instant death, to return to the charge; the boats kept up a heavy and constant fire. Unable any longer to resist, the garrison abandoned their position, and endeavoured to force their way to

Poros. Their total loss was 200 men, that of the assailants is stated at 700. Poros not being tenable, they passed on to Anatolico, where there were about 400 unarmed men, and 4000 women and children. As the small number of men who had escaped from Doolma was totally inadequate to the defence of the place, they surrendered at discretion, for the sake of the women and children. Ibrahim was now absolute master of the lagoons on the west side, and if he could conquer the isle of Clissova, he would be equally so on the east side, and thus have the town strictly blockaded. He accordingly set about building more boats, in order, if possible, to carry this last outwork of Mesolonghi.

The Greeks, on their side, aware of the importance of Clissova, now that Vassiladi was lost, immediately set about fortifying the church of the Holy Trinity on that island. Their stock of provisions was now exceedingly reduced; the only supplies which they received were brought by small boats which ventured over from the Ionian Islands: but Miowli was daily expected, and this hope sustained their courage.

Ibrahim, anxious to anticipate the arrival of the Greek fleet, collected, on the 5th April, in the harbour of Mesolonghi, five large boats and ninety-three lanzonia, on board of which he embarked, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, 2500 picked men. The garrison, uncertain when the attempt was to be made, remained all the night under arms, watching the flotilla. At daybreak it was seen advancing towards Clissova, and at the same time several parties of the enemy's troops were perceived occupying the islets about that isle, and then, collecting to the number of 2000, to make

towards it through the water. There were at that time in Clissova but 100 men and a few officers, and the commandant was lying sick at Mesolonghi. Luckily the Sooliote Kitso Tsavellas, who had the charge of guarding along the coast with a corps composed of a certain number of men drawn from all the corps of the garrison, was on the spot. Jumping into a boat, and followed by no more than ten men, he pushed off for the island. His example animated others, and altogether about 150 men came to reinforce the little garrison of Clissova.

At five o'clock in the morning, the attack, of which the direction was committed to Resheed-pasha, commenced by a heavy cannonade designed to favour the landing of the troops. The boats, from which it proceeded, continually contracted the circle which they formed round the isle; and, in about an hour, they were within stone-throw of it. The signal was given to land; fifty *beiractars* instantly sprang into the water; the troops on every side rapidly advanced towards the island. No opposition was made to their landing; they reached the Greek intrenchments, and were about to storm them, when a close and murderous fire forces them to recoil; they return to the charge, the conflict is sustained for two hours with obstinacy on both sides. At length the assailants give way and retire. Resheed in person leads them on again; he receives a wound. Still their officers persist in bringing them to the Greek ramparts; they are repulsed a second, a third, a fourth time. At noon, wearied out, and dismayed at their losses, they retire out of musket-shot, their cannon still *keeping up a constant fire on the island.*

At two o'clock, Ibrahim in person attacks th

island on the sea-side, at the head of 2500 picked troops. Tsavellas receives him as he had done Resheed; the Greeks aim chiefly at the officers, and, to their great joy, one of the French renegades falls; still the enemy, though repulsed, returns to the charge, and the combat is prolonged to the night. At length the Arabs fly, the flotilla retires, and the weary and exhausted Greeks are left to repose.

In this memorable conflict, which lasted thirteen hours, and was sustained by a handful of men against such vastly superior numbers, supported by a powerful artillery, the Greeks had no more than thirty-five men killed and wounded. Only 1200 dead bodies of the enemy were found on the spot; but the loss which Ibrahim sustained was computed at 2000, a great number of bodies having sunk in the water, which was tinged with blood to a great distance. The victors collected upwards of 1600 firelocks of various forms, and the quantity of small arms found filled seven of their boats. The prisoners taken were but three in number.

The glorious defence of Clissova excited the utmost joy and enthusiasm in Mesolonghi, and for the moment, forgetful of their sufferings, the people ventured to anticipate the total destruction of the army of Ibrahim; but soon their thoughts were recalled to their forlorn state, when it was found that the town did not contain as much bread as would afford a meal to the heroic defenders of Clissova, after their conflict of thirteen hours of incessant carnage. The skill of the European officers of the pasha had effectually closed up all the narrow channels of the lagoons through which the light boats of the Ionians used to glide with provisions into the town, and the only hope of Mesolonghi

lay in the fleet of Admiral Miowli, which had twice before averted famine from it.

Miowli arrived, but the Turkish fleet no longer presented its usual appearance. Hitherto it had formed one confused mass ; now, under the direction of Europeans, it was arranged with regularity in three lines, and supported by the batteries of the lagoons. Canáris attempted to advance with his fire-ship, but he found his passage completely checked by huge rafts, which extended along the line of the enemy's fleet. All that could be done was to send a monoxylon with letters from the admiral, and the officers of the ships which were on board, encouraging the garrison to perseverance. The canoe made her way through the ships of the Turks, and the poles which the letters held out, cast a momentary gleam over the declining days of Mesolonghi. The garrison was now reduced to the greatest extremity. They had consumed the flesh of horses, dogs, and every species of animal which the town contained. When this resource was gone, they lived on crabs, which they had to fish up under the fire of the enemy's boats. At length they were reduced to feed on the marine plants which grow in the basin ; but the purgative powers of these plants were so strong, that they served only to augment the weakness of those who fed on them. Still the idea of surrender was not entertained, and every day the beach, notwithstanding the fire from the boats of the enemy, was crowded by the people, gazing eagerly at the flag of the cross in the distance, and marking its efforts to come to their relief.

The chiefs had long since engaged themselves by oath not to surrender ; but in case of the fleet



was still in view, making every supply to them; and one narrow lagoon had escaped the besiegers. But ere long, a boat attempting to steal along it, this last resource was closed.

Ibrahim now sent one of his emissaries to offer the garrison the same terms; and the English government made every effort to induce them; but the pride of the heroic warriors who so long had braved the Turks and Egyptians, who disdained to treat, though not without the desperate expedient of passing through the enemy's lines. The British government, however, could do nothing for them, which might, by an attack on

and the garrison made preparations for sallying forth at the appointed time.

It was arranged, that the sortie should be made from that part of the ramparts which is between the *lunette* of Orange, and the last battery on the east side. They were to issue forth by means of four wooden bridges, and assemble before the batteries of Rhigas and Montalembert. The soldiers were then to lie down there on the ground, and, on a given signal, to rise and advance. When the signal agreed on should be heard from Mount Aracynthus, the garrison was to divide into two corps; all the men belonging to the posts between the *lunette* and the last battery on the west side were to make their way through the camp of Resheed, while the remainder, with the greater part of the unarmed population, would attack the two towers, and endeavour to traverse that of Ibrahim. The place of reunion was the Vineyard of Kótzica, at the foot of the Aracynthus, on the road to the monastery of St Simeon, distant about a league and a half from the town. Unfortunately, this plan was not kept a secret, and a Bulgarian went over, and made it known to Ibrahim.

On the morning of the 22d, a census was taken; it was found that the number of the soldiers remaining was 3000, many of whom were barely able to walk; that of the unarmed men 1000; of the women and children about 5000. Many of the women put on men's clothes, and armed themselves, that at the worst they might escape falling into the hands of the enemy. A number of the feeblers of the women, the young children, the old men, the sick, and the wounded, unable to leave the town, calmly waited to perish in its

ruins. Some brave men resolved to stay and devote themselves for the destruction of the infidels. Christo Capsali, one of the primates of the town, firmly refused to quit it; and leaving a number of women and children to the mercy of the powder magazine, "Come," said he, "be without apprehension, I will set fire to it myself. Some Mesolonghiote soldiers shut themselves up in the Tower of the Windmills, resolved to blow up it and themselves; others collected powder in some of the strongest of the houses with the same intention. One old man, who was wounded, took his seat by the train of a mine which was under the Botzaris, intending to blow it up as soon as the bastion was covered by the enemy.

At six o'clock in the evening, a volley of artillery was heard on Mount Aracynthus; the commander immediately sent round to desire the soldiers to be ready to sally at eight o'clock. They were directed to keep the utmost silence, the guards alone were from time to time to fire some shots, and give a few calls.

Meantime, the four wooden bridges were kept ready; every thing which might be of use to the enemy was destroyed; the printing presses were broken up, and the types buried in different places, so that what had served to make known to the world the glorious deeds and the immortal names of many heroes, might not be profaned by the hands of the barbarians. The cannon had been so placed that they might be flung in a moment in the fosse; it had been proposed to spike the muzzles, but the gunners, who were mostly Mesolonghiotes, would not consent, as they fondly hoped to return once more to the town in triumph, having routed the infidels.

the appointed hour drew near, the soldiers collected, with as little noise as possible, about the bridges; the guards were still left to keep up a fire to engage the attention of the enemy. At five o'clock, all began to descend the ramparts, to the Mesolonghiotes. These were still ordered to march through the town, collecting their families. The bridge nearest the sea, as least exposed to the fire of the enemy, was assigned for their rendezvous.

Themistocles had made his dispositions for frus-
trating the plan of the garrison: he had posted a
strong body of Albanians on Mount Aracynthus;
his cavalry was drawn up in the plain, ready to
act, distrusting the information which he had
received of the place whence the sortie was to be
made. Instead of drawing all his force to the
place which had been shown him, he contented
himself with augmenting the guard of the two
others, lest it might have been only a feint of
the Greek generals to draw all his forces to one
while they went out at another. The noise
coming from the bridges, and the cries of the women
and children, however, soon informed him of the
place, and a furious fire was immediately
opened on it; but the Greek soldiers, favoured
by the darkness, got out in safety, and lay down
on the ground, as they had been directed.
During an entire hour they lay waiting to hear
Themistocles's men attack the camp of the enemy.
At length, as the moon was rising, they feared
they might be discovered, but still no sound came from the
camp. Their chiefs resolved, however, not to
wait; the order to advance was given in a low
voice, from rank to rank, and with shouts of
"on! Death to the barbarians!" they rushed

towards the two forts. Just at this moment the Mesolonghios were coming out, with their wives and children, and thinking that the troops which were coming to their aid were arrived, they hastened on their companions. A sudden cry of "Back, back to the town! To the batteries!" was raised, no one could tell why, or by whom; and instead of pursuing the steps of those who were having a passage for them, they rushed back into the town. The explosion of the Botzaris, and the firing from the houses, informed them that it was too late for retreat, that the Turks were in the town; they met them in the streets, and women, men, and children, fell beneath the strokes of the barbarians. No place of refuge remained; and the women, knowing that this rage would soon be calmed, and death be then refused them, ran some to the wells to fling their children into them, to save them from slavery, and then to destroy themselves; others to fling themselves and children into the sea; others cast themselves on the swords of the Arabs; only 1200 fell into the hands of the enemy.

The size and strength of the powder-magazine soon attracted the attention of the enemy; and judging that it must contain the most valuable property of the citizens, they crowded round it; some laboured to break open the doors; some scaled the windows; others got upon the roof, and began to strip it. The women and children remained tranquil within, awaiting their approaching fate. When the press of the assailants was greatest, and they were now bursting in on all sides, sure of their prey, Capsali fired the magazine. The neighbouring houses were thrown down by the explosion, the sea was agitated to a

at distance, and 2000 of the infidels perished. Capsali and the women and children ofolonghi.

The soldiers of the garrison were in the midst of the enemy's camp, after having passed the two, when they heard the explosion. They were, not venturing to come to close quarters, firing on them from a distance. They had been to about half a league from the town, when a body of 500 horse came in view; they were in the rear of the Greeks, but were repulsed; then divided, one part going towards the mountain, the other towards the sea. These last 150 Greeks, who were coming from Clissova, met their brethren at St Simeon. In the conflict which ensued, though the Greeks fought with their wonted valour, and slew several of their opponents, the greater part of them were killed, the remainder were dispersed, and but a few remained at the appointed place of rendezvous. As the Greeks ascended the side of Mount Synthus, and approached the monastery, they began to consider themselves out of danger; and seeing some troops drawn up on the side of the mountain they judged from their appearance, that they might be their friends. Suddenly, a heavy and destructive fire told them that these were Albanians; and weak with famine, and exhausted by fatigue, they almost despaired of being able to overcome this new enemy, who was fresh, and possessed the advantage of the ground. They still, however, pressed on, though every moment one more of their number fell. More than 200 of them had already fallen, or remained, covered with wounds, in the hands of the enemy. They were now midway up the mountain, when at last

THE MESOLONGHIOTES

party of 300 men of the troops of Karaiskaki came to their aid, and attacked the Albanians, who, dismayed by the appearance of this unexpected force, retired, leaving the exhausted Greeks to pursue their way unmolested. With daybreak they had reached the summit of the mountain, and thence viewed, with feelings of pride and melancholy, the ruins of the town which they had so long and so heroically defended. On taking an account of their numbers, they found that they counted 500 less than when they left the

town: and among the missing were the Generals Stournari and Solima; Papadiamantopoulos, the last surviving member of the junta of government; Rani, the political chief of the town; Cocchini, an engineer; Meyer, the editor of the journal, who had served to record their exploits, and Joseph, who, Cassius-like, had implorred one of the Greek soldiers to kill him, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the infidels.

Feeble as they were, they had no hopes of obtaining food till they reached the village of Neretza, still some leagues distant. They set out those who had still some strength remaining supporting the wounded. On the second day part of them arrived at that village, others did not reach it till the third day: but the inhabitants long since abandoned it, and the Ætolian soldiers who occupied it, were themselves in want of food. They had now no resource but to direct their course for Salona. Every moment, as they crept through the wild mountains for that purpose, they saw one or other of their companions with exhaustion. "Be thy memory eternal to our nation," repeated they, "gave him the kiss of peace, obliged to be

to empire alone. In this manner 600 of them perished before they reached Salona, where they were received by the people and the soldiers with delighted pity and admiration, and every effort was made to provide for their wants. Their number now amounted to but 1800 men, nearly one-half having perished in the retreat.

But the few brave men who had remained in Mesolonghi sold their lives dear to Ibrahim and his troops. As they approached each of the houses in which these men were posted, a well-directed fire thinned their ranks; and when the defenders found that resistance was becoming hopeless, they opened the doors, the assailants rushed in in crowds, the powder was fired, and all perished together. Some of these houses held out till the morning of the 23d; the tower of the Windmill stood till the 25th.

Master of the ruins of what had been Mesolonghi, Ibrahim set his men to the task of digging among the rubbish for the bodies which lay beneath it, in order to augment the number of heads, to be sent to the seraglio, in testimony of his victory. The women and children who remained alive, were conveyed to Prevesa and Jannina, and then sold for slaves over the empire.*

Such was the termination of the siege of Mesolonghi, whose gallant defence may vie with any thing recorded in ancient or modern history; and whether we ascribe the heroism of the garrison to patriotism and love of liberty, or to a

* The number is stated by Mr Blaquieres at 2500, of which 200 were ransomed by the committees of Paris and Geneva.

deep-rooted hatred of the Turks, we cannot withhold the meed of our applause from the valour, the constancy, the cheerful endurance of dangers, toils, and privations, displayed by all of every age and sex within the walls of the *Sacred Town*, from the opening of the siege to its fatal close.

In the beginning of May, 250 Mesolonghiotes (all who were remaining of the inhabitants) arrived half naked at Napoli, where they were aided by the voluntary subscriptions of the people of that town, and some of the islands; forty gunners, who were among them, were placed in the fort of Boorghi, of which the command was given to their chief Mitro Deligeorgopooli. The Soothote chiefs Botzari, Tsavella, Kitzo, Zerva, and Valtino, with most of the inferior officers, and some of their men, were invited to come from Salona to the seat of government, and five salutes of artillery from the Palamidi, greeted the arrival of these gallant warriors at Napoli di Romania.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Unsuccessful Expedition to Negropont—Mediation of England with the Porte sought—Commissions of Government appointed—Proceedings of Ibrahim-pasha—Invaded Midea without success—Naval affairs—Reinforced by ships to Athens—Attempts to relieve it—State of Parties—Turks at Hydra.

DURING the continuation of the siege of Mesolonghi, scarcely any thing had been attempted against the enemy in any other part of Greece. In the month of March, Colonel Foulke, who took, with his regular troops (infantry),

dition against Cárysto in the isle of Negropont, with a view to make a diversion in favour of Mesolonghi. He was at first successful, forcing the Turks to shut themselves up in the fortress ; but, on the 29th, a corps of 2000 men, both horse and foot, coming to their aid, he found it necessary to retire, and take up a position on the seaside, whence he dispatched couriers to Athens, and to Egina, to inform the people there of the critical situation in which he was placed, being without provisions or ammunition, and having his retreat by land cut off by the troops of the enemy—a situation which was soon rendered still more critical, by the arrival of some Turkish vessels of war, which drove off the Greek mistics, and blockaded him by sea ; and he was thus exposed to two fires of musketry and artillery.

As soon as the news arrived at Egina, the Ipsariotes dispatched some vessels to his relief ; the Hydraotes did the same ; and the people of Syra, by a voluntary subscription, procured provisions and ammunition, and sent them to him. The Greek ships, on their arrival, drove off those of the Turks ; and taking the troops on board, conveyed them to Zea, Tino, and the other isles.*

Another national assembly had been convoked to Epidaurus, and it had just commenced its sittings, when the intelligence arrived of the fall

* Jourdain. This writer throws the blame of Fabvier's defeat on the *anti-national faction*, as he calls it, who had an aversion to regular troops, and had sworn the destruction of the corps of Fabvier. They had promised, he says, to send him ammunition and provisions, but did not. We doubt much, however, if, under any circumstances, he could have withstood the numerical superiority of the
~~Turks~~

MEDIATION OF ENGLAND - 7

Mesolonghi. In the dismay occasioned there, it was again proposed to have recourse to England: some members of the assembly proposed an application to the ambassadors of the four great powers conjointly; but Tricooipi, the ablest speaker in the assembly, and the staunch partisan of England, drawing a parallel between her ministers, and those of France and Austria, to show the hostility of these last to Greece, while the former had always strictly abstained from doing her any injury, it was resolved to implore the British ambassador at Constantinople to endeavour to mediate a peace between the Porte and the Greeks on the following conditions.

1. That no Turk should be permitted to reside or possess property in the Greek territory, as it was impossible for the two people to live together.
2. That all the fortresses should be given up to the Greeks.
3. That the sultan should have no influence on the internal organization of the state, or in the church.
4. That the Greeks might keep up a force sufficient for their internal security, and a marine to protect their commerce.
5. That they should be governed by the same rules, and enjoy all the same rights, in the Morea, continental Greece, Candia, the Archipelago, and in fine, in all the provinces which had taken arms and were united under the Greek government.
6. That the articles of the present should not be altered by the British ambassador or by the commission appointed by the General Assembly to correspond with him.
7. That the Greeks should have their own flag.
8. That they should have the right to coin money.
9. That the amount of the tribute should be fixed, the payment be annual, or that it should

once for all. 10. That a truce should be granted; and that, in case of the Porte refusing to accede to these terms, the commission might apply to one or all of the European powers for protection and aid, and act as it should deem best for the interest of the Greeks.

This resolution was passed on the 24th April; and, the same day, D. Hypsilanti addressed a letter to the provisional government, protesting, in strong terms, against the act, as disgraceful to the nation, requiring that the protection of all the European powers, and not of a single one, should be sought, and reserving, in case of their adhering to their first resolution, an appeal to all Christian nations against the "illegal and anti-Hellenic act;" at the same time declaring that, while the war lasted, he would never cease to combat, along with his fellow citizens, against their tyrants. For this exercise of his rights of a citizen, Hypsilanti was rather arbitrarily deprived of these rights by the assembly.

On the 28th, the assembly issued two proclamations; in one announcing the formation of two commissions for provisionally carrying on the government until the ensuing September, when the deputies were to reassemble; the other, declaratory of the determination of the nation to live or die free and independent. The assembly was then prorogued, and the following day the new government entered on its functions at Napoli.

The first commission, to which the direction of the affairs, civil and military, of Greece, was confided, was composed of eleven members, namely P. Mavromichali, A. Zaïmi, A. Delyani, G. Sessini, S. Tricoopi, A. Isco, J. Vlacho, D. Tsamado, H. Anargyro, A. Monarcãidi, and P.

Demitracepools. Zographo was appointed secretary-general. Almost all these men, it is to be observed, were primates of the Morea; and the same was the case with the other commission of thirteen,* called the Commission of the Assembly, and appointed to assist the former.

On the 7th May, a letter came from Salona, signed by Noti Botzari and Kitso Tavella, to inform the government of their having reached that place, after their escape from Messolonghi, and stating, that they were 1800 in number, but that they expected to be joined by several of their comrades, who were dispersed; and declaring, that they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood in the execution of their orders. The government, as we have seen, invited them to repair to Napoli.

Shortly afterwards, Karaïskaki made his appearance at the capital, and placed himself at the head of a party opposed to the government, who declared against all accommodation with the Porte, and for inviting Count Capo d'Istrias to take the supreme direction of affairs. Having, in some degree, excited the enthusiasm of the people, and engaged them to form two corps of volunteers, he made the government give him a commission as commander-in-chief of Roomelia, and put these corps under his orders; and he placed troops devoted to himself in the Palamidi and the Acro-Corinth.†

* Germanos, archbishop of Patrás, Porphyrius, archbishop of Arta, P. Notara, A. Kapanitza, A. Londo, C. Deriotto, S. Galegeropoolo, G. Enean, B. Boodoori, N. Belisario, E. Zeno, and N. Benier. The secretary was Ch. Cossara.

† Soutzo. This writer is so documentary, and so full-

As Ibrahim was now returned to the Morea, and as he had always expressed his determination to destroy the island of Hydra, measures were taken for its defence. The Spetziotes, as their own isle was indefensible, removed, with their families, to Hydra, to aid in its defence; the people of Cranidi and Poros did the same; and a battalion of Colonel Fabvier's corps was sent to form part of the garrison. Hydra, now fortified by nature and by art, garrisoned by the choice of the Greek troops, and well supplied with provisions and ammunition, had apparently little to fear; and her mariners, with those of Spetzia and Ipsara, mounting their barks, scoured the sea in search of the Turkish fleets. At the same time, the commission of the assembly, fearing that advantage might be taken of the present circumstances for the exercise of piracy, issued a strong proclamation against all pirates. This crime had of late been carried to a fearful extent, owing to the want of power in the government, the distracted state of the country, and the distress of the people since the landing of the Egyptian army.

When Ibrahim returned to the Morea, he found nothing to resist him; the mutual jealousies of the chiefs, and the want of cordiality between them and the government, had prevented any plan being formed, or troops collected, during his absence; and he moved whithersoever he pleased over the country, burning the crops, and destroying the villages, as usual. At length, the chiefs felt the necessity of union; and they were

sent about chronology, that it is difficult ever to approach accuracy, when obliged to trust to his guidance.

IBRAHIM INVADES MANI

is enabled to give him some checks in the mountains of Arcadia; and, on his march to Modon, he was twice attacked and beaten by Nikita. Having collected a force of from 5000 to 6000 men, Ibrahim advanced towards Clooknia; on the way to that place, the defiles were guarded by the Sooliote general, Nicola, and 500 men; an obstinate conflict was kept up for four hours; the Greeks lost 200 men, and killed 400 of the Arabs; but they were unable to prevent their passage; and Nikita, who was posted between that place and Modon, not having been joined by the other generals, did not venture to engage the troops of the pasha, who thus succeeded in reaching Modon.

From Modon, Ibrahim wrote, on the 26th June, to George Mavromichali, the son of the Bey of Mani, calling upon him to appear before him within ten days, accompanied by all the primates of that district, to consult with him on the means of restoring peace (as he termed it) to the Morea, menacing him, in case of disobedience, with the devastation of that province. This summons remained without effect; and the troops of the pasha, some days afterwards, encountering, at Armyro and Nisi, a party of Maniotes, who were searching the deserted villages for booty, and being repulsed by them, he landed, on the 4th July, at Deras, in Mani; and having, according to custom, burnt the villages of Pyrgo and I mora, he directed a part of his troops to advance to Cacavaulia. Meantime, his vessels moved along the coast, firing their guns to terrify peasantry. Constantine Mavromichali, having collected about 2000 men, fell on the Arabs at Cacavaulia, routed, and pursued them down the sea-shore; and Ibrahim himself had a

of being captured. It is asserted,* that the Maniotes followed up their victory as they should have done, they might have destroyed the entire corps of the enemy. Of this defect in the Greek system of war we have already had several instances; one might say, that the ancient Roman maxim, of not pursuing the enemy beyond the field of battle, had descended to them, were it that the defect is common to all irregular troops.

Tripolitza being now blocked up by the Greeks, in want of provisions, Ibrahim assembled about 4000 or 5000 men, and set out to relieve it. The defiles of Londári were guarded by Pacha, who let the Arabs engage themselves in, whereby a well-sustained fire made great slaughter among them; but the Greeks who were besieging Tripolitza, coming to the aid of Pacha, when they heard the firing, Ibrahim, judging from their numbers, that nearly their whole force must be engaged, and the town be taken, detached a part of his troops with the provisions destined for its relief, with directions to make with all speed for the town. The Arabs, being dispersed, a small corps of the Greeks when they met, entered Tripolitza, while Ibrahim still maintained the conflict in the defiles. Having attained his object, he no longer sought for a way through the defiles, and he retreated towards Calamata. The Greeks, who had upwards of 500 men killed and wounded on this occasion, continued to harass his retreat; but all hopes of taking Tripolitza were now lost, in consequence of their having so imprudently

* H. H.

* Jourdain.

drawn off all their forces, and given an opportunity of introducing provisions into it.

On the 23d August, Ibrahim set out for Argolis, at the head of 3500 men, with the intention of pushing on to Corinth, and attempting to take it by a *coup de main*. But the Generals Tsavella and Nikita, having posted themselves, with 1100 men, between the villages of St George and Clenia, near Mount Parthenias, gave him so warm a reception, that he was forced to fall back to Tripolitza. On his retreat, learning that General Koliopoolo had cut off the communication between that town and Patras, he sent a detachment of 800 foot and 150 horse to open it again; but these also were beaten, and forced to return.

Ibrahim now resolved to act vigorously against the Maniotes; and having assembled 5000 men, he entered their country, burning all the villages as far as Miniacova—a place eight leagues distant from the ancient Sparta. The narrow defiles leading to this last place were guarded by General Mavromichali, with 200 men. After a resolute combat of nearly two hours, and losing forty of his men, he was forced to yield to numbers, and leave the passage open. He retired to Tsimova, where he was joined, the same day, by General Elias, and 2000 men. The two armies now remained for some time in sight of each other. At break of day, on the 10th September, Ibrahim sent a division of 3000 men against the villages of Polytsuravo and Scipianico. A more obstinate resistance than was expected was made by the inhabitants. Mavromichali and Elias hastened to their assistance. The Arabs had made themselves masters of one half of the forces

village; the inhabitants now attacked them on the right, while the two generals fell on their left. The combat was vigorously sustained on both sides. In the heat of the action, General Tsalastino came up, with 400 men, and attacked the enemy's centre. The Arabs still persisted in their efforts to take the villages; reinforcements continually came up to the Greeks; and at length Ibrahim, hopeless of success, returned to Scala Elous. On account of his cavalry, the Greeks could not harass his retreat; but during the action, his loss had been considerable. Their own loss had been altogether about 200 men. Ibrahim made one more attempt to penetrate to Mistrá; but being again repulsed, he retired to Tripolitza. On his way thither, he suffered a good deal from the irregular attacks of the partisan Slaïko.*

In the month of July, as the Turkish fleet was known to be at sea, that of the Greeks, commanded by the gallant Sachtoori, and consisting of twenty-nine ships of war and six fire-ships, went in search of it. On the 24th, it arrived between the isles of Mycono and Tino, on its way to Samos. The wind being contrary, it was forced to take refuge under the latter island, where the Austrian squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Paulucci, was lying; and the Themistocles, as she was tacking, in order to get as close in to the shore as possible, happening to pass before the imperial admiral's ship, the dignity of the latter was offended, and, contrary to all usage, he threw a Congreve rocket, and that missing the Greek vessel, he fired on her with ball and grape, till he damaged her so much, that

The preceding details have all been taken from Jour-
nales.

she was forced to put into Syra to refit. Next day he had a conference for two hours with Vice-Admiral Sachtoori; and both fleets being now under weigh, the Greek vice-admiral fired a salute, which the imperial vice-admiral condescended to return.

The Greek fleet, on arriving at Samos, found that that of the Turks, consisting of two sail of the line, nine frigates, and nineteen corvettes and brigs, was off the coast of Asia, preparing to take on board the troops destined for an attack on Samos. The Greek admirals, Sachtoori and Kolaudrontzo, did not hesitate to attack it. Topal-pasha, aware of their intention, made sail for Chios; the Greek fleet pursued, and came up with him. The attack was commenced by Sachtoori and the Hydraotes; and in the heat of the engagement, Kolaudrontzo and the Spetziotes fell on the rear of the Ottomans, who were soon put to the rout. The Greeks remained masters of the field; but they had had several of their men killed and wounded, and they had sacrificed three of their fire-ships to no purpose. The brave Canaris was among the wounded.

The Turks made for Mitylene; and soon afterwards, Admiral Miowli, arriving with a Hydraote division, took the chief command. The Turks being under sail off Mitylene, he manœuvred to get the wind of them, and cut off their retreat to that island; and towards nightfall on the 9th September, he attacked them. The Turks, cut off from the island, made for the gulf of Smyrna; the Greeks followed them close; the engagement continued till one o'clock in the morning—was renewed at four o'clock—and continued throughout the entire of the day. The wind was not bitter,

and it frequently changed; the enemy, when it was in his favour, fled towards Smyrna. The Greeks displayed a degree of boldness equal to any they had previously shown; they had several of their men killed and wounded; they consumed their remaining fire-ships to as little purpose as before; but they did the enemy a great deal of mischief. Having chased him to the Isles of Oorlac, and the gulf of Smyrna, they continued to keep the sea in triumph, and Samos was again saved from the menaced desolation.

After this victory, the greater part of the Grecian fleet returned to port. Admiral Miowli remained, with nine vessels, to watch the motions of the enemy. Having gone to reconnoitre their position at Mitylene, he found himself, at day-break on the 6th October, in the very midst of their fleet. The Turks, confiding in their superiority of strength, instantly attacked; and the Greeks did not decline the apparently unequal combat. The wind having died away, a Turkish frigate got herself towed on by twenty-seven boats, in order to take advantage of the calm, to direct a steady fire on the Greek ships; but Captain John Yaka, who happened to be nearest to the frigate, kept such a fire on the boats, as made them give over their work. In the meantime, Michael Ruffo had the fire-ship which he commanded towed up among the Turkish ships in the midst of their fire; but three of the men in the boat being killed, and four wounded, he was forced to give over the attempt, and retire. At nightfall, the enemy retreated to Mitylene; and as several of the Greek ships had been damaged, they returned to port to refit.

As soon after the fall of Mesolonghi as he

could collect a sufficient force, Resheed-pasha undertook the subjugation of Eastern Greece. He entered Bœotia at the head of 9000 men; 1500 of whom, mostly horse, he sent forward towards Athens. Goora met them on the way with 650 Roomeliotes, and attacking them by surprise, made great slaughter among them; and some days afterwards, when Resheed had sent forward another corps, Goora, in concert with the garrison of the Acropolis, surrounded them, and killed 500 of their number. As Resheed still continued to direct his efforts against that town, Goora, leaving the command of the troops at Eleusis to John Grizioti, shut himself up in the Acropolis, to direct the defence of it; and he and the garrison took a solemn oath to imitate the heroes of Mesolonghi, and never to surrender as long as they had a morsel to eat, or could wield a sword. In the course of a fortnight, Resheed-pasha, having been reinforced by a strong corps of Albanians, appeared before the town, and having occupied it, laid siege to the citadel.

Karaïskaki, who was at Salamis when the serasker arrived at Athens, collected what troops he could, and passed over to the mainland; being joined by Colonel Fabvier and the regulars, and such other troops as obeyed his call, he encamped at Talamona in Attica. He thence proceeded to Eleusis, and on the 17th August, marched toward Athens with a force of 5600 men. That evening, the Greek army posted itself at the town of Thaidári, on the plain within a league of Athens. Next morning early, the enemy, 6000 strong, appeared on the heights. The Greeks attacked him without hesitation; the combat lasted six hours; the Turks finally fled, and were

pursued to their intrenchments by the victorious Greeks. It was the advice of Colonel Fabvier that they should enter the town *pêle-mêle* with the Turks, in which case they might at once relieve the Acropolis; but Karaïskaki, whose tactics were of a cautious character, would not venture on so bold a course. The regulars distinguished themselves very much in this affair, charging the Turks gallantly with the bayonet. The loss on the Greek side was but trifling; upwards of 500 of the enemy were slain.*

On the 20th, the ser-asker attacked the Greek army. Fabvier's regulars behaved well, and bore the brunt of the engagement; but the conflict ended in the defeat of the Greeks, who were forced to retire to Eleusis. The following day an interview took place between Karaïskaki and the ser-asker, Omer, Pasha of Negropont, and some of the other Turkish chiefs, on board of a French frigate, commanded by M. de Rigny. "At seeing them all together," says Karaïskaki, in a letter to Colocotroni, "I could not help trembling with rage. We have, however, formed an acquaintance which I hope will cost him dear. We talked a great deal—he penetrated with the idea that the Hellenes are his subjects—I with that of our being free."†

* Soutzo says, the action at Thaïdari took place on the 10th. He makes the number of the Turks 7000, and the ser-asker be joined by 2000 men from Cárysto on the 20th; and, contrary to Karaïskaki's own words, he attributes the retreat of the Greeks to their want of cavalry. He estimates the regulars of Fabvier at 1200 men—a number which is certainly too large. Mr Blaquier, on the other hand, makes Karaïskaki's whole force to be 1200 men, and says he did not begin to act till the month of November.

† The dialogue between them is thus given by Soutzo:

On the 24th, Karaïskaki wrote to Colocotroni, giving an account of the two engagements, both of which he represented as victories. Their falling back to Eleusis he ascribed to their want of water and provisions; the loss of the enemy he stated at 600 men killed, their own at 100, in the two affairs. He urgently pressed him to send to him the irregular cavalry of the Morea; the regular cavalry which he thought he could muster himself would be about 300 men. In that case he deemed he would be able to drive Resheed out of Attica, and then they might turn their united strength against Ibrahim. He begged of him to send him provisions and ammunition, for though he had written to the government for them, his only reliance was upon him.

The ser-asker, after he had driven off the Greek army, pushed on the siege with vigour. He dug, at the foot of the Areopagus, a large fosse, capable of containing 400 men, and from the end of it ran three mines, with the intention of blowing up the old theatre of Bacchus, and attacking the citadel on that side. The garrison,

"At the siege of Mesolonghi," said Resheed, "before me, behind me, beside me, it was always thee I saw; again it is thee whom I meet before Athens."—"Paasha," replied Karaïskaki, "quit Roomelia, and thou wilt be relieved from the sight of me."—"Captain, I esteem thy valour—try to gain my friendship."—"I have a government who would cut off my head, if they but suspected me of the intention."—"How! you have a divan strong enough for that?"—"Yes, but with this difference, that ours always judges us before consigning us to the hands of the executioner, whereas the sultan condemns you to the cord without any preamble."—"Thy boldness is pleasing to me; enroll thyself beneath my standards."—"I am the Roomeli-valei of the Greeks, thou of the Porte; one of us must drop the title: the rest will decide which."

aware of his design, made a sortie on the evening of the 18th September, fell suddenly on the fosse, killed or made prisoners all the Turks who were in it, then rushed on the mines, took the workmen by surprise, seized all their tools and gabions, and returned with their booty to the citadel, having lost about thirty men in the affair. On the 20th and the 21st October, the Turks gave two assaults, but were driven back with loss.

The following day, Karaïskaki and Colonel Fabvier, having concerted the means of throwing some reinforcements into the citadel, the former made an attack on the Turks at Thaldari, while the latter, at the head of 600 regulars and forty Philhellenes, moved upon Athens, to make a false attack, in order to divert the attention of the enemy. The plan was perfectly successful, and Grizoti entered the place with 300 men, having sustained scarcely any loss. That on the side of the corps of Karaïskaki and Fabvier was about sixty men; the loss of the Turks was not known. Karaïskaki then retired to Eleusis, Fabvier went to the Piræus, to embark for Methena.

While the ser-asker was before Athens, an expedition was concerted by the Greeks, which should assemble in the islands, and land at Talanta, near Thermopylæ, in order to cut off his communication with Thessaly. Caletti, Count Theotaki, Bentzo, and Colonel Raybaud (who was returned to Greece) arrived, on the 28th September, at Syra, with a Spetziote brig and sloop of war, Count Harcourt, the agent of the French committee, having furnished 30,000 piastres for the expedition. On the 6th October, the sloop sailed for the isle of Scopelos, to take on board General Kara Tasso and his corps. On the 10th,

the brig sailed for the same place ; and on the 7th October, Colonel Voutier, who had formed a corps of regulars, arrived there also. The entire force now amounted to 2000 men, commanded by Kara Tasso, Gatzio, Doobiotti, and Vaugeli ; and on the 14th, it got on board a flotilla of boats, and landed near Talanta : but the delay made had been so great, that the Turks had had information of their design, and had concentrated their force there. After sundry smart actions, the Greeks were finally beaten, and forced to re-embark.*

A corps of Turkish troops having advanced to Dobiena, Karaïskaki marched against them, and forced them to retire towards Salona. He still pursued them, and at last enclosed them in the valley of Arákhova. Though it was now the beginning of December, when the cold was extreme among the mountains, and his men had hardly any clothes or food, he persisted in keeping the Turks strictly blockaded. They offered to capitulate, but he would grant no terms if they did not give up their arms and the heads of their captains, and at length, when, in desperation, they attempted, on the 6th December, to force a way through his lines, he destroyed almost the entire corps. Shortly afterwards, as the citadel of Athen was almost out of ammunition, and Goora had been killed† some time before, Karaïskaki pressed the government to send Colonel Fabvier to relieve it. That officer, accordingly, on the night of the 13th December, placing himself at the head of 400 of his *taticos*, each carrying a parcel of ammu-

* Jourdain.

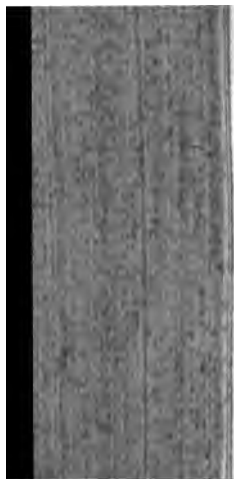
† Goora's beautiful wife and her children were killed by a bomb some time afterwards.

ation, succeeded in entering it, with the loss of but three men. He remained there to aid in the defence.*

It is an extraordinary circumstance in the condition of human affairs, that desertion, disunion, and jealousy, are never more apt to prevail than at the very time when danger from without is most imminent, and the closest union and harmony are indispensable in order to ward it off. And to no country does this observation more apply than to Greece, at all periods of her history. When Xerxes was marching his myriads to overwhelm her, all her petty rivalries and animosities were in full operation, and some of her states remained faithful to the cause of their country from no more noble motive than that of their neighbours having joined the invader; dissension facilitated the reduction of Greece to a Roman province; and when Mohammed II. was on his march against Constantinople, the unhappy people of that city were ready to slaughter one another about some theological trifles. So it was now in Greece; while nothing but the most cordial co-operation of all could avail to resist the efforts of Turkey and Egypt, faction within faction prevailed among those who had the guidance of affairs.

From the vague, loose, and prejudiced accounts which we have as yet of the state of parties at that time, it is extremely difficult to deduce any

* Soutzo. According to M. Jourdain, Fabvier was detained there, the *English faction* having secretly written to Grizioti and the other generals to keep him there, as General Church was coming from the Ionian Isles, and England would be more disposed to favour them if an *Englishman* had the chief command, than if it was in the hands of a *Frenchman*!



called the English party—the country placed under the power—in which case they ward to appropriating to the part of the public lands. 7 constant communication with ton, and complied with 1 occasions. A.Mavrocordato, to do with the government, ments, and was a decided 1 The Tombasis of Hydra, s were on the same side. On Condoorioti family, and son ing men of the islands ; Co was so great in Roomelia ; 0 certain degree, Karaïskak military men ; the two Sou and several others, were, vehemently opposed to the

of having betrayed the interests of his country, by declaring himself the rival of Hypsilanti, and of strengthening, in order to overthrow him, the party of the oligarchs; of having, by his quarrels with Coletti, opened the gates of Greece to Ibrahim; of having squandered away on his partisans the revenues of the state; of having negotiated a loan in 1824 without the orders of the government, and frequently signed bills of exchange in the name of, and unknown to, the nation; of having given birth to the English, French, and Russian factions, all pernicious and all anti-Hellenic; of having secretly attempted the life of Karaïskaki, and forced Odysseus and Varnakioti to turn their military talents against their own country; of having finally replied by violence to the just representations of several men of letters,—such as the Philhellene, Philip Jourdain, and the virtuous Demetrius Paulidis; they refused to allow him the ability of a good diplomatist, the qualities of an honest citizen, and the courage of a warrior; they overwhelmed him with satires, epigrams, and diatribes; by their influence they broke the ties of his connexions with more than one influential primate, and forced him to wander from isle to isle without an object, without authority; though several of them were of the same city, of the same caste, they trampled beneath their feet, for the public weal, all interests and regards. *It is possible that they may have been deceived in their opinion which they conceived of him; but their intention was not thereby the less praiseworthy: they looked for no employment; imperturbable in the midst of the clamours of party, they accepted only the onerous post of preaching the truth even at the risk of their lives."*

As the powers of the two commissions were to have expired in September, it was the object of the opposition to assemble, as soon as possible, another national congress, in order to make an attempt at overthrowing the primates of the Morea, and of declaring against all pacification with the Porte. The Zaimists, it is said, had recourse to the following expedient to undermine them, and ruin them in the minds of the people.

There was considerable distress among the people of Hydra, owing to the stagnation of all trade, and the want of means for fitting out expeditions, by which booty might be acquired. A report, therefore, was spread, in the beginning of December, that the rich had kept back the greater part of the prizes made in 1825, when Condoorioti was at the head of affairs, and given but a small part to the sailors. The people rose in tumult, and shut all the primates and the captains up in the convent. They, however, let them out on their promise to return in the morning, and a caïque was sent to Poros* to fetch M. Tombasi, against whom they were particularly inveterate. Next day, the primates and the captains repaired to the convent; but the people, instead of following them, set about destroying the houses of M. Tombasi and of Admiral Miowli: the Condooriotis, however, who still retained their influence over them, prevailed on them to desist and to follow them to the convent. Another caïque was dispatched for M. Tombasi, and the people meantime accosted his brother Yacomaki, and Mr Coope, the secretary of marine. In

* The Tombasis had retired to that island with their families, property, and ships.

order to appease the excited people, the Condooriotis and the other primates agreed to give them a part of their demand, and supply them with the means of living for another month; and a commission of captains was appointed to govern the isle provisionally, with whom were joined deputies of the people.

Tranquillity was thus restored, when information was secretly conveyed to the primates, that the people intended to rise and massacre them. In alarm, they prepared to fly from the island; and on the night of the 8th of December, they stole down to the battery, which is on the right hand side of the port where they staid, waiting for the boat of an English frigate which was to come to take them off. Here they were found by Colodimo the chief of the civil guard of the isle, as he was making his rounds, and were by him respectfully conveyed to their own houses. The next morning they were brought to the convent, and the people, on learning the cause of their terror, solemnly swore to them that they never had the slightest intention of doing them any injury, but that, on the contrary, they regarded them as the fathers of their country, and were ready to defend them against all their enemies. Both sides were now persuaded that the whole affair had been the work of their common enemies; a subscription for the relief of the people was instantly made, the Condooriotis gave 100,000 piastres, and all others contributing according to their abilities, 2500 sailors were paid at the rate of 100 piastres each, and tranquillity was perfectly restored.

On the 13th, Captain Hamilton arrived before Hydra from Smyrna, and sent to demand the

family of J. Tombasi. This demand was refused on the plea of their being in perfect safety among their relatives in the island. On the 15th, a deputation, headed by Vice-Admiral Sachtoori, waited on him at his own desire, and next day he sailed for Egina, where the commission of government was sitting, leaving a corvette and a brig off the island. On the night of the 19th, a vessel belonging to the Condooriotis, which had sailed on the 23d November, with Captain Zaca and 150 men, without papers, i. e., a-pirating, came in, after having pillaged some Ionian vessels to the amount of from 12,000 to 15,000 piastres. On the 21st, Captain Hamilton again appeared, and the primates and the others repaired on board his vessel as before. He came close to the port, and sent in to demand that Captain Zaca, his ship, and the plundered property, should be given up to him; he also required that the ship of Admiral Miowli should be sent to Poros. A verbal answer was returned, that nothing could be done till their chiefs, who were on board his ship, should have returned. At three o'clock they landed, and assured the people that Captain Hamilton would pardon Zaca, but that the ship must be given up, or he would fire on the town. Zaca's crew, though willing to restore the plunder, would not hear of the surrender of the ship, and in the evening a letter was sent to Captain Hamilton, to request that he would recede from that part of his demand. Next morning, the plunder, which had been divided by the crew, was being re-collected, when a letter came from the English commander, to say, that if the ship was not sent to him before noon, he would do what the historians of Greece and *England* would record with pain; and at ten

o'clock he sent to inform the Hydraotes that he would send his boats to take Zaca's ship, and that, if any resistance was offered, he would have recourse to force.

Shortly afterwards, one of the English boats put off, and came to Zaca's vessel, on board of which there were about a dozen men. The English were preparing to board her, when one of Zaca's men fired a pistol at them. Immediately they opened a fire from all their boats, and the corvette discharged two cannon-balls at the town. Captain Hamilton, when he saw what had occurred, instantly got into his barge, to put a stop to the firing, but four persons, among whom was George Politi, a bold captain of a fire-ship, had been killed, and ten wounded.

Before the night came on, the English cut the cables of all the vessels, of every description, which were in the port, and carried them off. On Captain Hamilton sending to demand the helm and the sails of Zaca's vessel, they were given to him; and part of the merchandise sent with them. He directed the masters of the caiques, which brought them, to say, that he wished all to be forgotten, and the negotiations to go on as before. Next day nothing was done, except that the remainder of the goods was sent to Captain Hamilton, who, in return, sent back all the vessels but those of Zaca and Miowli. On the 25th, the primates and the deputies of the people went on board of the frigate, where they continued the entire day, and had some warm altercation with those Hydraote primates who were come from Poros, and were attached to the Egina party. During several days the negotiations were continued, but Captain Hamilton persisted in not giving up the vessel of Zaca.

CHAPTER XIX.

Congress at Hermione—Expedition to the Phalerum for the relief of Athens—Proceedings of the Congress—Arrival of General Church—and of Lord Cochrane—Reconciliation of the Parties—Count Capo d'Istria appointed Head of the Government—Unsuccessful attempt to relieve Athens—the Citadel surrenders—Affairs in Candia—at Nisibis and Romania.

WHEN tranquillity had been in some measure restored in Hydra, the Condooriotis and Colocotroni set eagerly about assembling a new congress at Castries, the ancient Hermione. The greater part of the Moreote deputies were with them; Zaïmi collected about forty deputies from the isles at Egina, with whom he joined those who had sitten at Epidaurus in the preceding summer. The Tombasi party, who, as we have seen, had retired to Poros with their families and their shipping, also adhered to the Egina party.

Meantime a total stop was not put to operations against the enemy, and in the latter end of January 1827, an expedition for the relief of Athens was prepared at Salamis, of which the command was given to Colonel Gordon, who was once more in Greece. A force of about 2400 men, well supplied with every thing requisite, landed, on the night of the 5th February, at the Phalerum; while a squadron, composed of the *Karteria* (*Persuance*) steam-vessel, three brigs, and a good number of boats of various kinds, under the command of Captain Frank Hastings, who, from the commencement of the war, had devoted his services

and his fortune to the Greek cause, attended to assist their operations. The Greek generals, Vasso, Panyatoki Notara, and Boorbakhi, which last had been a long time in the French service, assembled their different corps at Eleusis, to act against the enemy on that side.

The Turks who were at the Phalerum, fled, at the approach of the Greeks, to the monastery of St Spiridion, close to the Piræus. Captain Hastings entered that port with his steam-vessel, and opened a heavy fire of shot and shells on the monastery, but the garrison, who were Albanians, though near sixty of them were killed, stood the fire with great courage. A six-pounder also played on them on the land-side, and the Greek troops were so posted as to cut off their retreat to the town. A body of the Turkish cavalry appeared in the plain, but soon retired; and the Greek general, Notara, asking permission to storm with 500 picked men of his corps, Colonel Gordon, though against his better judgment, allowed him to do so. The event, however, was such as the colonel expected: the storming party was speedily repulsed, though, owing to the constant fire kept up by Captain Hastings on the monastery, their loss did not exceed a dozen men. The next day the ser-asker appeared in person, with a strong body of cavalry and some infantry, and two pieces of cannon, with which he opened a fire on Captain Hastings's vessel, which obliged her to leave the harbour; and the Turkish infantry having intrenched themselves on an eminence near the monastery, the ser-asker retired, leaving some piquets of cavalry at the edge of the olive-grove which extends to the town.

On the 8th, an engagement took place between

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the Turks and the army of the Greeks, which was at a place named Canastero, at the foot of Mount Paros, to the west of Athens. It was the opinion of Vasso that they should keep the heights and cut off the communications of the Turks, and this, it is thought, would have been the wisest plan; Notman was for marching to the Piræus, and joining the force which was already there; but the impetuous Boorbakhi declared for engaging the Turks at once where they were. High words passed between him and Vasso, but his opinion prevailed. The Greeks, having neither cavalry nor artillery, took their position on an eminence behind a ravine at the foot of the mountain; Boorbakhi having posted himself in a redoubt about two hundred paces in advance, with a small church in his front, in which he had placed some of his men. Here they were attacked, at day-break on the 5th, by Resheed in person, at the head of 500 or 600 horse, 1000 infantry, and two pieces of cannon. The Turkish guns fired grenades with great rapidity; the Greeks were thrown into confusion: the cavalry charged; the church was abandoned: those who were behind the ravine, fled, pursued by the horse, who did great mischief among them, killing 250, and making fifty prisoners. The number of the Greek wounded was 200: they did not attempt to rally at their camp at Eleusis, but continued their flight till they got over to Salamis. Boorbakhi himself was among the prisoners, his horse being shot under him, and he was shortly afterwards put to death.

There now remained no hopes of being able to raise the siege: and as it seemed quite certain that the Turks would soon make a general attack

on the troops of the Phalerum, dispositions were made to receive them. Accordingly, on the evening of the 10th, their army, about 4000 or 5000 men strong, appeared on the plain, some cannon-shots were exchanged, and they bivouac'd round the hill on which the Greeks were posted. The Greek troops were 2200 in number ; they had fourteen pieces of cannon, and one brig of war. It was arranged that this brig was to station herself before the mouth of the port of Munchyia, to protect their left flank ; Captain Hastings, with the other and the Karteria, was to enter the port of the Piræus on their right ; all the boats were removed, that the troops might have no alternative but victory or death.

Next morning, the engagement began by a cannonade, in which the Greeks had the advantage ; the fire of musketry then commencing at the wings, spread along the line ; the Turks attacked the left wing furiously, and drove back the Greek *tirailleurs*, but by the aid of the Ipsariote brig the Nelson, they were repulsed ; they then attacked the right with as little success. Their infantry now concentrated themselves, and made a fierce attack on the centre, in the face of a thick hail of musket-balls and grape-shot ; the Greek reserve of regulars coming up and charging them with fixed bayonets, they were forced to retire, but they rallied again, drove back the *tirailleurs*, and several of the *beiractars* planted their standards within pistol-shot of the Greek lines ; but General Macroyani falling on them with a select body of troops, they were at length forced to retire, and, retreating across the road to Athens, halted at the foot of the rocky hill by the monastery, to collect their dead and wounded. They con

sessed the loss of 300 men, including six inferior officers; that of the Greeks did not exceed forty men, but the want of cavalry prevented their deriving all the advantages which they might have obtained from their victory.

During the engagement, Captain Hastings had entered the *Pireus* to attack the monastery, but his steam-vessel sustained so much injury from the guns which the Turks brought to bear on her, that he was forced to go to *Egina* that evening to rest, having previously landed his ammunition, &c., for the use of the artillery.

The sea-saker, who had still greatly the advantage in point of numbers, threw up intrenchments all about the monastery and the neck of the *Munichia*, and in some measure kept the Greeks besieged in their position. Frequent cannonading and skirmishing between the advanced posts took place. Disease and desertion continually diminished the number of the Greek troops; and Colonel Gordon, apprehensive of an attack, deemed it advisable to go over to *Salamis* in search of reinforcements. Here he found General Vassio and Panyotaki Notara, and the greater part of their men, who had escaped from *Kamatero*. By money and promises, he induced about 600 of these to give over plundering the inhabitants, the occupation they were at present engaged in, and accompany him to *Phalerum*.

The garrison of the *Acropolis* having at length found an opportunity of conveying intelligence of their situation, two of them came to the camp, and gave a most deplorable account of their sufferings. Colonel Gordon, aware that nothing could be effected for their relief by his troops remaining on the *Phalerum*, repaired to *Egina*.

to request of the government to allow him to transport them to the gulf of Oropo, to act in the ser-asker's rear. With this desire, however, they declined complying, and Colonel Gordon, after having held the chief command for about fifty days, resigned it, in the end of February, into the hands of the Greek generals, Notara, Macroyani, and Kalerjie. The commissariat now fell into the hands of improper persons, and the generals, unable to effect any thing, remained at the Phalerum, expending their ammunition in useless and ill-directed cannonades.*

To return to civil affairs. On the 23d February, the Hermione party, having assembled two-thirds of the deputies—the number declared by the law of Epidaurus sufficient to form a national congress—entered on their deliberations, under the presidency of Sessini of Gastooni, with M. Spiliadi for secretary. Their first act was to publish a proclamation addressed to the nation, exhorting the people not to despair, but, relying on Heaven, still to continue the contest, in which they had hitherto struggled so gloriously; and holding out hopes that the great powers would yet interfere in their behalf. Immediately afterwards, a letter was written to the British ambassador at Constantinople, to assure him that it was the intention of the Greek people to adhere to the terms of accommodation with the Porte proposed at Epidaurus the year before.

It had been for some years the wish of the Greek nation, at least of the military portion of it, that General Sir Richard Church, who had organized the Greek regiments taken into British

* See the Narrative in Blaquiere's "Letters from Greece."

pay, at the time when the English occupied the Ionian Islands, should take the command-in-chief of their army. Several of the most distinguished of the Greek captains, such as Colocotroni, Nikita, and most of the Sooliotes, as well as many of the soldiers, had served under him, and his popularity in Greece was considerable. His presence was sought more anxiously than ever, now that the necessity was seen of having regular troops to oppose to the Arabs of Ibrahim; and General Church, complying with the pressing invitations which he received, at length consented to come and take the chief command. He landed, on the evening of the 9th March, at Porto Keli, near Spetzia. On hearing of his arrival, Colocotroni, Metaxa, several of the other leaders, and a large body of the military, set out at midnight to go to welcome him, and conduct him to Hermione. They arrived at four o'clock in the morning, the Greek standard was planted, the soldiers formed a ring round it. While they fired three volleys, Colocotroni approached the general, and embraced him by the standard of Greece; then turning to the soldiers—"Our father," cried he, "is at length arrived; we have only to obey him, and Greece will soon be free;" loud huzzas followed. At sunrise, they set out for Hermione, where the whole of the deputies and the military chiefs came to pay their respects to the man who had so generously resigned the lucrative offices which he held, to come to expose himself to hardship and danger, in the almost hopeless cause of the liberty of Greece.

As General Church would not accept any command till the decision of the Porte was known, he resolved to act, in the meantime, the part of

mediator between the two parties; and Commodore Hamilton offering him a passage to Egina, in the Cambrian, he sailed for that place on the day of his arrival at Hermione.

The arrival of Lord Cochrane, for whose services Greece was to come in, in her turn, after the states of the New World, and which had long been anxiously looked for, was now announced. He appeared off Hydra on the evening of the 17th March; and hearing that Commodore Hamilton was at that place, he went thither to meet him. As soon as the congress at Hermione heard of his being there, they sent a deputation of five members, headed by Colocotroni, to congratulate him. He received them on board his schooner with much politeness; but he assured them, that till the dissensions which at present divided Greece were at an end, he would withhold his services.

The force brought by Lord Cochrane consisted of his own schooner and of a brig of eighteen guns, purchased by the Greek committees of the continent. In speaking of the accession of strength which the Greek navy received from foreign sources, it must not be omitted, that, in the last December, a fine frigate (but rather too large, it was thought, for the purpose) arrived as a gift from the American committee to the Greek nation, on board of which Admiral Miowli had hoisted his flag, and the Karteria steam-vessel had been built by Captain Hastings at his own expense. Were it not that the task would be irksome, and that we may suppose our readers sufficiently acquainted with the disgraceful transactions, we might here *relate the scandalous manner in which the Greek*

nation was defrauded of the greater part of the produce of its second loan, contracted on such usurious terms, and of the manner in which the steam-vessels, for which its agents contracted, were constructed. But we have not now space for episodes, and we are rather glad to be excused from relating one so little creditable to our country.

By the exertions of Commodore Hamilton and of Sir R. Church, the people of Egina were brought to reason, and they gave the latter full powers to arrange the differences, and sent a deputation to Poros to act with him. On the 24th March, Colocotroni, and three other members of the congress of Hermione, met them at Damala, (the ancient Troezen,) and the reconciliation was effected. It was arranged that the congress should be held at Epidaurus, and that the old deputies should sit there along with the new ones. It was further resolved, that Count John Capo d'Istrias should be invited to take the post of president of the Greek confederacy, that Lord Cochrane should have the chief command of the fleet, and Sir R. Church be appointed generalissimo of the land forces.

The nomination of Count Capo d'Istrias to the supreme direction of affairs in Greece had long been the wish of a great portion of the nation. In fact, as we have seen, the Hetairists had early fixed their eyes upon him ; but, as he was one of the most strenuous maintainers of the notion that the Greek mind must first be emancipated from ignorance, and made fit to receive the blessing of liberty, before any attempt should be made to conquer the national independence, he had all along discouraged those who had addressed themselves

He had farther been a member of the ministry, having entered the service of the emperor at the time when she occupied his country—the Seven Islands—and he was determined to do anything which might offend the emperor, but he had been now for some time residing, as a private individual, in Switzerland, and seeing his countrymen engaged, however prematurely, might deem it, in the struggle, his wishes to be with them, and his advice and his purse were at their service. He was evidently the fittest man to take the reins of government into his hands, and his nomination offered the only sure mode of settling the two parties. An ill-grounded fear of offending England, as he had been in the service of Russia, alone caused some to hesitate.

In the first week of April, the deputies, to the number of about 200, assembled at Trœzene. As at Astro, there being no house large enough to contain them, they were obliged to hold their sittings in a lemon grove. The only chair was occupied by Sessini the president; the members sat around him on rough blocks of wood; the papers, archives, &c., of the congress, were stuck to the branches of a neighbouring lemon-tree.

The deputies assembled by beat of drum, the herald being one of Ibrahim's Arab drummers; he had been taken prisoner. On the 9th, Lord Lochrane landed, and took the oath of allegiance to his appointment to the command of the Greek navy. The following day, the nominations of the General Church and of Count Capo d'Istrias took place with general acclamations. The title of president (*πρόεδρος*) having become odious to the people, on account of the ill-conduct of some of those who had borne it, the name intended

designate his office was director (*κυβερνήτης*), and the dignity was conferred on him for seven years. As he was not on the spot, a commission of three was to conduct affairs till his arrival. On the 15th Sir Richard Church was sworn into office with great solemnity, and instant preparations were made for making an attempt to relieve the garrison of the Acropolis of Athens.

Since the failure of his attempt to penetrate into Mani, Ibrahim-pasha had remained in a state of inactivity. His troops, it was computed, did not exceed 10,000 men, and they were distributed in Tripolitza, Modon, and the other places which secured his possession. He could not venture to draw them together for want of supplies, and had he left any place unprotected, the irregular bands of the Greeks, who were scattered through the mountains, might have been easily assembled and led against it. He therefore deferred commencing operations till the arrival of the reinforcements of which he was in expectation. The Greeks were masters of Mani, and its strong place of Monemvasia, of the whole Argolis, and of Corinth in the Morea; in Roomelia they had no place of strength but Athens; the Turks were blocked up in Salona—neither party could be said to be the possessors of the country. The greater part of the inhabitants of Attica, Megaris, and Livadia, had fled to the Morea and the islands.

Karaïskaki, after having scoured the country as far as to the ruins of Mesolonghi, had drawn together all the troops he could collect, and advanced to the relief of Athens. He was now posted at Port Phoron, about eight miles from that town. General Church, having assembled all the men he was able to collect, passed over

to Megaris, and encamped near the town; the squadron under Lord Cochrane was ready to aid the operations of the land army; Count Porro had resumed the direction of the commissariat, and Colonel Gordon had, at the request of General Church, taken that of the ordnance department. On the 23d April, the generalissimo transferred his head-quarters to the camp of Karaïskaki, and the corps of Sessini and Petmesa, and a body of Hydraotes sailors, arriving, the Greek army amounted to about 10,000 men.

On the 25th, the troops at the Phalerum and at Port Phoron made a simultaneous movement in advance, and Lord Cochrane entered the Piræus. The enemy was drawn back from all his posts except the monastery, where the Albanians still defended themselves, and the Greek line was advanced pretty far into the plain. The monastery was continually cannonaded by the flag-ship of Lord Cochrane, and the batteries on the Phalerum, but the garrison showed no inclination to surrender. On the 28th, General Church, as the ammunition of the ships and batteries was exhausted, and the Greek troops testified no readiness to storm, granted the Albanians permission to retire with their arms and baggage. Accordingly, General Karaïskaki, having arranged with them the mode of their leaving the monastery, drew them up in a close column in front of it, and placed a line of cavalry between them and the Greek troops occupying the adjacent posts; different bodies of cavalry and infantry were placed about the column for its protection, and Karaïskaki himself, Tsavella, and several other officers of rank, stationed themselves in the centre of it, by way of hostages.

The column set forth, and proceeded towards the camp of the ser-asker. In the meantime, the Greek soldiers, who had gotten an idea that the treasures of the ser-asker and his principal officers were in the monastery, rushed into it in search of prey; and being disappointed in their expectations, they followed the column in spite of the escort. One of them attempting to take his sword from an Albanian officer, the latter fired his pistol at him; this was returned by a musket-shot, and a general firing commenced on both sides. As the column moved on, the number of the assailants increased, and when it reached the foot of the hill, occupied by a part of the Turkish army, the batteries there fired on both Turks and Greeks indifferently. The Greek officers who were in the column ran imminent danger of their lives, being exposed to the fire of their own men as well as that of the Turks. At this moment, the Sooliotes of General Botzari and the corps of Nikita, which formed the two principal advanced posts of the army, seeing what was going forward, flew to the aid of the Turkish column, and though exposed to the fire of the batteries, succeeded in opening a passage for them. About a hundred and thirty men, that is, one-half of the column, had been thus slaughtered. This deed excited considerable indignation among the superior officers and the Philhellenes who were present; but it was evidently an unpremeditated act, and many things of a much more atrocious description had taken place since the commencement of the war.

On the 4th May, some Candiotes, who were lately come from Poros, attacked, without orders,

a *tambooria** of the Turks on an eminence near the Phalerum; a body of Turkish cavalry came to aid their infantry; General Karaïskaki, hearing the firing, hastened with some other officers and some troops, to put a stop to the action. These, however, joined with the Turks, were driven off, but Karaïskaki received a wound, of which he died the following day. Nikita, and Captain Whitcomb, an English officer, were also wounded, and several of the men were killed.

General Church, being resolved to make a desperate attempt for the relief of the Acropolis, and having made the necessary arrangements with Lord Cochrane, embarked, on the night of the 5th May, with a corps of 3500 men, at the Phalerum, and landed at the Church of the Three Towns, intending to surprise Athens by a rapid movement, and thus liberate the citadel. Unfortunately, the leading column had only arrived within musket-shot of the hill of Philopappus, the strongest of the Turkish posts, when daylight came. They therefore took up a position forming two lines, with reserves, and intrenching themselves in the usual slight way, and an action commenced with the Turkish infantry. Gradually the enemy's cavalry arrived, and formed on the left flank of the first line of the Greeks. It had with it some pieces of artillery, which commenced firing, while another large body of cavalry came up, and threatened every part of the line. The Greeks repelled three charges; but at length the enemy, collecting all his cavalry, to the amount of 2000, made a furious attack on the right flank, and in a few minutes cut it to pieces; the rest of

* A sort of slight fortification.

the Greek army was instantly seized with a panic and fled; the Turkish horse spread all over the plain, pursuing and slaughtering the fugitives. The loss of the Greeks in this unfortunate affair was near 1500 men; the Sooliote generals, Draco,* Lambroveïos, George Tsavella, T. Fotomera, and nearly all their men, perished; the regulars, and the commander, Colonel Inglesi, were cut to pieces; only two of the Philhellenes escaped; few of the Candiotes left the field; their brave chief, Kalergi, was covered with wounds, and made a prisoner. He was afterwards ransomed for a large sum. All hopes of relieving the citadel were now at an end; and the next day General Church wrote to the garrison, desiring them to accept the terms offered by the ser-asker, the faithful performance of which would be guaranteed by the French commander on that station. The chiefs of the garrison refused to obey the order; but on the 5th of the following month, when they saw that the Greek army had abandoned the Phalerum, they accepted the terms of the ser-asker, and evacuated the place. The soldiers of the garrison were allowed to retain their

* Draco, says M. Soutzo, was taken prisoner and brought before the pasha, to whom he said, "I am George Draco; my sabre has cut off more than a hundred of the heads of thy people; why dost thou delay? Take my life." The pasha replied, that he would send him to Constantinople to regale the eyes of the sultan. "Knowest thou not," answered the Sooliote, "that thou canst dispose of a slave, but not of a freeman?" and drawing a dagger from under his clothes, he plunged it into his bosom, and died. Mr Blaquiere mentions the anecdote, but without naming any person. According to this last writer, three hundred of the Greeks were made prisoners, and coolly put to death by order of the ser-asker.

arms and baggage, the Athenians to retain their baggage alone. The French admiral, De Rigny, placed himself at the head of the column, along with three Albanian chiefs, and three of the pasha's officers, and it passed unmolested to the place of embarkation. Resheed-pasha remained complete master of continental Greece.*

During the time that Athens was besieged, there was some fighting between the Turks and Greeks in Candia. In the month of March a corps of 2000 of the former set out from Candia to go in search of a body of 1200 Cretans who were traversing the western part of the island, and spreading terror among the Moslems. The two parties met, on the 14th, at the foot of Mount Ida, and a conflict ensued, which was obstinately maintained till night. The loss was about 100 men on each side, but the Greeks remained masters of the field and of five stand of colours, and a part of the enemy's baggage. Various other skirmishes occurred in different places, with alternate success. The Turks, having met a check near the villages of Gergiris and Panasso, took a fearful vengeance on them; for, having been reinforced from Candia, they suddenly entered them, and massacred every living being they contained.†

These Cretan affairs are of little importance in themselves: we have mentioned them merely to

* In our account of the affairs relating to the attempt to relieve the citadel of Athens, we have followed the dispatches of General Church. The account given by M. Jourdain differs from them in numerous particulars; but M. Jourdain is so cordial a Miso-Anglist, that we must be very cautious how we receive his accounts of any thing in which our countrymen were concerned.

† Jourdain.

show that the Christian inhabitants of that island have never ceased, from the breaking out of the war, to make head against the Moslems.*

At Napoli affairs were in a deplorable state. Griva, who, through the interest of Karaïskaki, had obtained the command of the Palamidi, refused to resign it when required by General Church. Fotomara the Sooliote, who was governor of the town, had leagued with young Colocotroni against Griva, some of whose soldiers they attacked and killed. Griva's brother, who commanded one of the lower batteries, made himself master of the gates, drove General Colocotroni out of the town, forced his son to barricade himself in his own house, and Fotomara to take refuge in one of the batteries. General Colocotroni soon returned with reinforcements, and, during a part of the month of July, the two parties fought each other with the greatest animosity. Griva bombarded the town—the greater part of the inhabitants abandoned it—the government was forced to take refuge in the fort of Boorghi.

CHAPTER XX.

Interference of the Great Powers—Treaty of London—Battle of Navarino—Evacuation of the Morea—Conclusion.

No one, surely, who takes a calm survey of the state of Greece in the month of July 1827, will deny that her condition was all but desperate, and

* It is farther to be noticed that the Samians had maintained their independence completely all through the contest.

that nothing short of the prompt interference of the great powers could have saved her from being again brought under the galling yoke of Mahmood's despotism, after her towns and villages should all have been destroyed, and the choice of her population sold into slavery. The treaty of London of the 6th of July gave a termination to the struggle of six years, and established the independence of Greece. With a concise view of this treaty and its effects, we shall conclude our sketch of the history of this memorable national resurrection, as it may justly be called.*

The foreign policy of England had, for some years, been directed by Mr Canning, a man whose ability as a statesman, and whose eloquence as a senator, few will affect to deny, whatever their opinion may be of him in other respects, or however much they may differ from his views on some important points. To such a man, therefore, policy alone dictated an interference in the affairs of Greece on the part of England, before Russia should take the matter entirely into her own hands, which it was very evident she would soon do, if the other powers remained inactive. Accordingly, the Duke of Wellington (whose fate it is to be the agent of good) was sent to St Petersburg in the beginning of 1826, ostensibly to congratulate the Emperor Nicholas on his accession, but in reality to arrange the Greek question; and a protocol (the basis of the subsequent treaty of London) was signed there on the 4th April.

Though we have ascribed no motives to the

* We here follow the statements in No. IX. of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, which, as they have not been answered, we are to look upon as correct.

conduct of Mr Canning but those of policy, it is surely allowable to suppose that others, and of a more generous kind, may have exerted at least a secret influence over his mind. Mr Canning was a scholar, and an eloquent one; from his youth he was familiar with the classics, which he never ceased to admire; and nothing could be more natural than for him to feel a desire to see the people which had produced some of the ablest monuments of human genius in a condition to rival its former efforts, and to have been actuated by the laudable ambition of transmitting his name to posterity as that of the man whose voice had called Hellas, after a slumber of 2000 years, to awake, and take her place once more among the nations. But farther, we think that, notwithstanding occasional aberrations, produced in a great measure by circumstances, Mr Canning was always at heart a friend to liberty, and anxious to diffuse its blessings, and that, from this feeling, he rejoiced at having an opportunity of giving to the classic land of Greece that which he so proudly boasted of having bestowed on the embryo states of the New World—a political existence. These views of ours respecting the character of Mr Canning may be imaginary, but they are not altogether chimerical; and we feel pleasure in supposing a statesman acting from motives not merely political.

Mr Canning visited Paris in the summer of 1826, and sounded the French ministry on the subject of Greece; but he did not find them much disposed to interfere. The protocol was afterwards communicated to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, with a request that they would enter into the proposed alliance. Prince Metternich, after

eulogising the spirit by which the allied courts were actuated, stated that his Imperial Majesty must be farther informed respecting the proposed mode of executing this treaty, before he could accede to it, and that he "had always objected, and still objects, to any interference by *force*—to any attack on the rights of the Turk, and even to any menace of that power." The Austrian minister throughout styles the Greeks *insurgents*, whom it was the duty of the Porte to put down if it could. The answer of the Prussian minister was of a more liberal tone; but as Prussia came nowhere in immediate contact with Turkey, and as her ambassador might be useful in mediating between the Porte and the other powers, in case of their withdrawing their ambassadors, he declined becoming a party to the treaty. In the spring of 1827 negotiations commenced at London, between England, France, and Russia; and on the 6th July the treaty was signed, of which the following is the substance.

The contracting powers were to offer their mediation to the Porte, with a view to bringing about a reconciliation between it and the Greeks; and a demand of an immediate armistice was to be made of the two parties. The basis of the proposed arrangement was to be, the Greeks acknowledging the *suzerainty* (feudal superiority) of the sultan, and paying, in consequence, to him, an annual tribute, the amount of which was to be fixed by common consent, once for all;—their being governed by authorities chosen by themselves, but the Porte to have a determining *voice in the nomination*. The Greeks were to *get possession of the Turkish property in the continent and islands, on condition of paying as*

annual sum to the former proprietors, or indemnifying them in some other way. The limits of the Greek territory, and the designation of the islands which were to belong to it, were to be afterwards arranged by the parties and the contracting powers.

By an additional and secret article, it was declared, that in case of the Ottoman Porte not accepting, within one month, the proposed mediation, the high contracting powers would establish commercial relations with the Greeks, by sending to them, and receiving from them, consular agents; and in case of the Porte not accepting, and the Greeks refusing to execute, the proposed armistice, the contracting powers would employ such means as they might deem prudent to carry it into effect.

Accordingly, France and England, without loss of time, augmented their naval forces in the Levant, and a Russian squadron sailed from the Baltic for the Mediterranean. Secret instructions were sent out to the English admiral, Sir E. Codrington, directing him to enforce, after the 10th August, a suspension of arms by sea, and to prevent the landing of any Turkish troops in Greece or the islands. Before, however, all the allied force had arrived which was to carry these instructions into execution, or time was had for applying to the ambassadors at the Porte for an explanation of them, a large fleet, with troops from Egypt, anchored, on the 9th September, in the bay of Navarino. As the employment of this fleet in conveying troops from one place to another, and in re-victualling the fortresses, might be extremely prejudicial to the Greek cause, and as the admiral's instructions had not provided for

that case, he wrote home for directions how to act ; and at the same time applied to Mr Stratford Canning, the British ambassador at Constantinople, for advice. From him he received a protocol of conferences, held by the three ambassadors at that place on the 4th September, authorizing the allied fleets to prevent naval expeditions from one port to another, and giving them power to escort to its destination, any part of the Egyptian or Turkish fleets which should engage to quit Greece, and return to Egypt, Asia, or the Dardanelles. The instructions afterwards received from London, dated 16th October, were to the same effect.

On receiving the instructions from Constantinople, the English and French admirals (the Russian squadron was not yet arrived) sent to the Egyptian admiral in Navarino, to say that they had received orders not to permit any hostile movement by sea against the Greeks, and to beg, therefore, that he would not make any attempt of the kind. On the 25th September they had an interview with Ibrahim, and an armistice was concluded, extending to all the sea and land forces lately arrived from Egypt, to continue in force till Ibrahim should receive an answer from the Porte, or from his father. As an answer could not be expected to arrive in less than twenty days, and no doubts were entertained but that Ibrahim would be ordered to evacuate the Morea, the French and English ships were ordered to prepare for escorting the Ottoman fleet to Alexandria or the Dardanelles. A week, however, had scarce elapsed, when upwards of forty sail of the Egyptian fleet came out of the harbour, and steered for the north. Admiral Codrington, who

had gone to Zante on the conclusion of the armistice, on hearing of this movement, made sail with his own ship, the *Asia*, and two smaller vessels, and got ahead of them, resolved to open their entrance into the gulf of Patras. The Egyptian commander asked permission to enter Patras, but on receiving an indignant refusal, accompanied with remonstrances of his breach of faith, he returned towards the south, escorted by the English ships. On the fleet arriving (October 3) between Zante and Cephalonia, Ibrahim and two other admirals joined it, with fourteen or fifteen ships of war. Notwithstanding their great superiority of force, the English commander bore down upon them, resolved to enforce respect to the armistice. The Ottoman fleet still proceeded seaward, but taking advantage of a gale of wind and of the darkness of the night, the four admirals' ships and some smaller vessels ran to the gulf of Patras. On seeing them there in the morning, the English squadron bore down on them, and fired till they made them show their colours. During the night it blew a hurricane—the English squadron was driven off—and Ibrahim, taking advantage again of the darkness, got out to sea: so that when, in the morning of the 5th, the English admiral was returning towards Patras, he saw thirty sail of the enemy's ships between Zante and Cephalonia. After doing them considerable damage, he forced the whole of them to return to Navarino.

On the 13th October, the Russian squadron arrived, and the English being reinforced from Malta, the allied force was now complete. As Ibrahim continued to massacre the inhabitants, to burn the villages, and to destroy the towns

the Morea, the three admirals held a conference on the 18th, in which, as the most effectual mode of putting a stop to these atrocities, they agreed to enter the Bay of Navarino, and to renew their proposition for the Ottoman forces leaving the Morea. It was expected that, as Ibrahim, when at sea, did not venture to engage the English squadron alone, he would submit at once at the sight of the allied fleet.

Accordingly, on the 20th October, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the combined squadron prepared to pass the batteries, in order to anchor in the Bay of Navarino, where the Turkish ships of the line were moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, and their broadsides towards the centre; the smaller vessels were behind them. The combined fleet sailed in two columns, that on the weather-side being composed of the French and English ships, the Russians forming the other or lee line. Admiral Codrington's ship, the *Asia*, led the way, followed by the *Genoa* and the *Albion*; they passed in with great rapidity, and moored alongside of the capitan-pasha, and two other large ships. Orders had been given that no gun should be fired if the example was not set by the Turks. When the ships had all entered the harbour, the Dartmouth sent a boat to one of the Turkish fire-ships which were near the mouth of the port. The Turks fired with musketry on the boat, and killed the lieutenant and several of the crew. This was returned from the Dartmouth, and *La Sirène*, the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral De Rigny, and cannon-shot was fired at *La Sirène* by one of the Turkish ships, *which was instantly returned*, and the battle soon became general. The conflict lasted with great

lasted for four hours, and terminated in the destruction of nearly the entire Turkish fleet. As each ship became disabled, her crew set fire to her, and dreadful explosions every moment threatened destruction to the ships of the allies.*

After the victory, one of the captive Turkish captains was sent to Ibrahim and the other chiefs, to assure them, that if one single musket or cannon-shot should be fired on any ship or boat belonging to the allied powers, they would immediately destroy all the remaining vessels and the forts of Navarino: and moreover, consider such an act as a declaration of war on the part of the Porte against the three allied powers; but if the Turkish chiefs acknowledged their fault in committing the aggression, and hoisted a white flag on their decks, they were willing to resume the terms of good understanding which had been interrupted. The answer returned was of course pacificatory.

The battle of Navarino ended, in effect, the war in Greece. The intelligence of it was received with exultation in France and Russia; but the English ministry at that time were doubtful what to say to it, and their successors in office hesitated not to express their disapprobation of it. Though it cannot be proved, yet it seems more than probable, that this wavering conduct of the British government hardened Sultan Mahmood in his obstinacy, and led him to reject all the efforts of Russia for a pacific adjustment of the differences between them, for he still secretly believed that

* Of eighty-one ships of war, of which the Turkish fleet consisted, there remained but one frigate and fifteen smaller vessels in a state to be ever again able to put to sea. The *As a Grecia*, and *Albion*, were very much damaged, and the loss of lives in the allied fleet was considerable.

the other powers would come forward to save him at the last hour.

After the destruction of the Turkish fleet, the allied admirals invited the Greeks to undertake the blockade of the ports which were in the hands of the infidels, and they directed their own efforts to the destruction of the pirates, who had, of late years, infested these seas, and committed so many robberies and atrocities. The great nest of these pirates was a little island named Carabusa, off the coast of Candia. It had but one harbour—which was so shallow that none but the vessels of the pirates could enter it—and there was a tolerably strong fortress on the summit of a neighbouring hill. The charge of attacking it was committed to Sir T. Staines; and he completely succeeded in destroying twenty-eight pirate vessels, which were in its harbour at the time, and effectually breaking up this establishment of the pirates.

About the middle of December, Ibrahim-pasha, aware that he must soon evacuate the Morea, took an opportunity of sending his remaining ships to Egypt with the sick and wounded, and the women and children connected with the expedition. Along with these he shipped a good number of the Greeks for slaves. Nothing was done to prevent him by the British admiral, whose instructions did not extend to that point, and his non-interference was afterwards made a serious charge against him by his own government.

Count Capo d'Istrias arrived in Greece in January 1828, and assumed the government. As the forces of Ibrahim in the Morea were still 27,000 men, and the greater part of the fortresses were in his hands, the Count clearly saw that it

was beyond the power of the Greeks to force him to leave it. He therefore readily listened to the proposal of the French government to send an armed force to his aid. The admirals concluded a treaty on the 25th July with Mehemet Ali for the evacuation of the Morea; and as the French army, under Marshal Maison, landed in the month of October following, Ibrahim embarked with 21,000 men, and quitted the country which had been for nearly five years the scene of his excesses. The garrisons of the different fortresses submitted at the appearance of the French troops, the castle of the Morea alone making any show of resistance.

The Greek troops had meantime been employed under General Church in Western Greece, which was easily cleared of the Ottomans, who were few in number in that part of the country, but they still retained absolute possession of Eastern Greece and Negropont.

The war with Russia in 1828 and 1829 having entirely broken the power of the Turkish empire, Sultan Mahmood was obliged to subscribe to such terms as the victor was pleased to impose; and, by an article in the treaty, signed in the month of September 1829, the Porte declared its entire adhesion to the stipulations of the treaty of London of the 6th July, 1827, and to the act drawn up on the 22d March, 1829, between Russia, Great Britain, and France.

It being now decided that Greece was to form an independent state, two questions remained to be settled, namely, what should be its magnitude, and under what form of government it should be placed.

With respect to the former of these points, it must be kept in view, that at the time when the

allied powers interfered, the Greeks were absolutely vanquished, and had no alternative between extermination and unconditional submission to the will of the Porte; whatever territory, therefore, was secured to them they should have received gratefully as a boon, instead of, at the suggestion of artful and self-interested men, talking of defensible portions, as if they were, or will be for a long time, able to defend themselves against the Ottomans, by their own means and resources. The old saying, of beggars not being entitled to choose, applies with full force in the present case.

It was policy, or perhaps humanity, (for the pretext of the suppression of piracy was a mere stalking-horse,) which induced the allied powers to break through the great principles of the non-interference of strangers in civil contests; and when the rule has been broken, all that remains is to go so far as sound policy will direct and justify. They have in effect deprived Mahmood of a portion of the dominions acquired by his ancestors, according to the approved receipt for acquiring dominion—by the sword, and to which, therefore, his right was undeniable as long as he could maintain it by the means by which it had been gained. It is idle, therefore, to talk of respecting his rights in the allotment of territory to the new state; it is only to be considered what portion of territory seems best suited to the interest, the population, and the means of the state, to which existence has been given.

While there was a reservation of suzerainty and tribute to the Sultan, various limits were *proposed*; the smallest was that which gave only *the Morea and the Cyclades* to the Greeks; the *largest* that which proposed to bound the n

state, on the north, by a line drawn from the Gulf of Volo on the east, to that of Arta on the west; the British government, from their avowed desire of maintaining the Ottoman empire in its integrity, contending for the former, that of Russia, from an opposite reason, preferring the latter. The former of these limitations was evidently too small; the latter was, in our opinion, too large. When the obstinacy of the Sultan had irritated the French and English governments, and it was determined to leave him no claims or rights over Greece, a new line of boundary was deemed necessary; it was recollected that he would be now required to surrender absolutely Eastern Greece and Eubœa, of which he had undisturbed possession, and it seemed but justice to soothe his pride by giving up to him a part of what the Greeks were masters of. It was then determined that the frontier line should commence near Zeitooni, to the south of Volo, be drawn westward to Vrachori, and then pursue the course of the Aspropotamo (*Achelôüs*) to its mouth, to the west of Mesolonghi, thus leaving Acarnania to the Porte. To this line in general, as the security of the new state is to be guaranteed by the three great powers, we cannot see any very strong objections; but the puppets who form the senate of Count Capod'Istrias, have, at his instigation, raised a prodigious clamour about this indefensible frontier, as if the scanty population of Greece was able to defend any frontier, however strong by nature and by art. To read the worthy president's account of their grief and indignation, we might be led to suppose that they were the most aggrieved and ill-used people on the face of the earth. Viewing, as we do, their murmurs with contempt, we

cannot, however, see what was the utility of giving back Acarnania to the Sultan. It adds nothing to the strength of his empire: it will always be a cause of petty warfare between the Turks and the Greeks; and the Macron Oros, which separates it from Epirus, would, as we apprehend, form an excellent northern limit. Though it were to be wished that Thessaly should form a part of Hellas, and it were desirable that Olympus, not Ceta, should be once more its northern limit, yet spoliation must stop somewhere, and it would be surely hard to make the Turks give up a district, a single foot of which they cannot be said to have lost during the entire course of the war. The same principle will apply, in a great measure, to Candia, though it were much to be desired that that fine island should form a part of the new kingdom, and though we see, in its retention by the Porte, the seeds of future insurrection and war.

In fact, we think that all that is now given to Greece, will be only saved from Russia. The time is not far distant (the present generation will probably witness the event) when the Turk will be driven out of Europe. Mahmood may discipline troops after the European fashion, but he is making no efforts to infuse moral vigour into the bosoms of his subjects: the fanatic spirit has fled; no equivalent impulse is come to take its place, and military discipline alone has never availed to save an empire. A partition of his European dominions will, in all probability, take place; those who divided Poland may agree to divide Turkey in Europe; Austria may not be reluctant to accept Servia, Bosnia, and Alban

remainder, and to pursue his conquests in Asia Minor.* We may hope that when that time arrives, Greece will be strong enough to be admitted as a party, and that her share of the spoil may be Thessaly and Candia.

As to the second question, which relates to the government, the allied powers have decided that it shall be monarchical; but the future sovereign not to be of the reigning families in France, England, and Russia. Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, was the person selected—he coquetted a long time with the proffered crown—the respectable portion of the people of Greece rejoiced at the prospect of his coming to bring peace and concord into the country; but the artful president caused difficulties to be started about the boundary-line—wrote, pressing the prince to come out to Greece; but, at the same time, by drawing an exaggerated picture of the toils and privations which he would have to undergo, scattered all the brilliant visions of sovereignty which may have possessed his imagination. The prince, in alarm, resigned the crown which he had accepted, and the prize still lies to reward some bolder candidate. We mean not to blame Prince Leopold for what he has done, for in our opinion he has acted wisely; we only think that he should have made up his mind at once, and not have gone so far as

* It is not undeserving of notice, that M. Von Hammer, in his History of the Ottoman Empire, when speaking of the Euphrates having been at one time the boundary between Eastern and Western dominion, expresses his opinion that it will become so once more. M. Hammer is a subject, and in the employment, of the Austrian government, and his work is dedicated to the Emperor of Russia.

he did till he was perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances.

As to Count Capo d'Istrias, the Greeks would perhaps have acted more wisely if they had not made him their president. He is an active, intriguing, self-interested man, the devoted slave of Russia, and his only object seems to be, by scaring away every sovereign who may be appointed, to keep the government in his own hands, and enrich his family and dependents. He is said to be himself disinterested, but he has brought over his brothers, and a swarm of hungry, servile Ionians, whom he has thrust into all the offices and employments in the state; by a union with the unprincipled Colocotroni, he has managed to have the Morea at his devotion; and the legislative assemblies, whose deliberations and resolves he announces so pompously to the world, are solely composed of his creatures, to whom his will is a law. The money given to him by France and Russia, binds the greedy primates of the Morea to him by indissoluble ties; the Roomeliotes, the islanders, and those men who, like Mavrocordato, Hypsilanti, Tricoopi, and others, have the real interests of Greece at heart, are discouraged and unemployed by him. Neither as president nor as prime minister, does Capo d'Istrias seem calculated to be of any real benefit to Greece. It must not, however, be omitted, that he appears to be sincerely anxious to promote education among the people.*

The future sovereign of Greece must be a man of energetic character, who will despise and

* See the work of Captain Trant already quoted; the details which he gives of the Count's administration are amply confirmed by others. Indeed, the letter to Prince Leopold sufficiently indicates his character.

repress the parties and factions which exist there. Money must be his grand weapon ; where all are venal, he must, by means of a regular force, protect and secure the peaceable peasantry, and dissolve, as speedily as possible, these irregular bands which, however useful in war, are the bane of a country in peace. It may be doubted if Greece, at present, possesses men fit for sharing in the functions of a representative government ; but in the actual state of public opinion on that subject throughout Europe, it would be idle to propose any other. Yet in vileness, venality, and all the qualities which unfit men for legislative functions, the greater part of the primates and captains are hardly to be paralleled. The only really valuable portion of the population of Greece is the peasantry, whose estimable qualities all acknowledge. With time, however, a firm and judicious government, and the diffusion of education, all must improve ; her population, which is now but 750,000, will be augmented by emigrants from the Turkish dominions ; her natural advantages and productions will be duly cultivated ; her wealth and intelligence will augment, and we may confidently look forward to her taking a respectable station in the European family, and being, perhaps, an agent in diffusing civilisation over a part of Asia.

THE END.









